HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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256 Counties Polled

Examining Those 'Emergency Hunger' Areas

The following article is taken from the opening statement of a House Agriculture Committee report released last week. Entitled "Hunger Study," the document was compiled under the direction of committee Chairman W.R. Poage (D.-Tex.).

The House Committee on Agriculture, always concerned about the ability of all Americans to procure adequate food, has conducted a checkup into conditions in 256 counties in 20 states which were designated as "emergency hunger counties" in a report by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States.

Issued April 22, 1968, under the title of "Hunger—U.S.A.," the 100-page document charged that—

"Hunger and malnutrition exist in this country, affecting millions of our fellow Americans and increasing in severity and extent from year to year."

The board issuing the report was created under the aegis of Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers Union, and while wholly unofficial, received widespread publicity. It prompted officials of many of the designated counties to write their congressmen that the statements regarding their jurisdictions were in a great many instances inaccurate, false and misleading if not knowingly deceptive.

Seeking the truth, this committee on April 27 directed a letter to the health officer of each of the 256 counties, asking if he knew of any cases of starvation or serious hunger to exist in the county by virtue of the inability of individuals to obtain food through the various food relief programs. On May 25 a second letter was mailed out to all those who had not responded by that date.

The just-concluded "Poor People's Campaign" had as one of its ostensible aims the elimination of "starvation conditions" among the poor. But an exhaustive study conducted by the House Agriculture Committee under the direction of Rep. W. R. Poage (D.-Tex.), chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, showed that the incidence of hunger in America has been grossly exaggerated. Above, over 50,000 persons jam Reflecting Pool area during last week's demonstration.

In sparsely settled areas health officers occasionally cover more than a single county, so that one response in a few instances contained a report on conditions in two or more counties. In these responses there occasionally was reference to a county which had not been designated in the "Hunger—U.S.A." report.

The responses so far received comprise reports from 181 of the 256 counties—an exceptionally heavy response for such an inquiry. [Editor's note: These replies are all printed in full in the Agriculture Committee report, "Hunger Study."] Undoubtedly they constitute the most up-to-date, comprehensive and factual picture available anywhere as to the true nutritional conditions in these counties.

It is to be noted that these counties named by the so-called citizens' board as those with the most severe hunger conditions are located largely in the South and Southeast. This selection certainly might be contested by many who will contend that conditions are equally as bad in some counties in the North and East.

In many of the responses amazement was expressed that that particular county had been designated as a "hunger" area. In many there was the observation that upon inquiry it had been disclosed that no one from the citizens' board had ever contacted anyone in the county.

The board, so far as this committee could determine, contacted or visited very few of the counties involved. It simply took data collected by various federal agencies in different years pertaining to population, income, mortality rates and the like, extrapolated the information and came to the conclusion that if certain levels obtained then a given area should be designated as a hunger county.

In not one single county of those responding were there current cases of starvation reported and few instances of hunger as a result of inability to buy food or receive public assistance, but in many there were stories of people, especially children, suffering malnutrition.

The few reported cases of starvation which had occurred in the past were believed to have resulted from deliberate negligence by parents. Almost all of the hunger and malnutrition cases were blamed on ignorance by parents as to what constituted a balanced diet. Several instances were reported of welfare clients throwing to the dogs foods which they simply had no knowledge of nutritional requirements and did not like the particular food which had been provided them.

While some criticism may be raised to the effect that these responses came from officials who are "part of the establishment" and therefore might not be expected to fully disclose conditions over which they had a responsibility, the question may be voiced as to where can be found citizens of greater responsibility, who can speak more knowledgeably as to the conditions into which we are looking.

Most of these replies came from medical doctors, many from registered nurses and county judges. Some replies were brief, others ran at length and in many there was evidence of a warm glow of love and feeling on the part of these county health officers for the deprived people they were trying to help.

Constructive comments were contained in many of the responses, a great many observing that but for the food stamp and commodity distribution programs administered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, there most likely would be a great deal of suffering. Several reported that conditions have improved over the past few years. There were some recommendations that the food stamp program should be further expanded and liberalized so as to eliminate required financial participation by those receiving the stamps.

Time and again there was the observation that jobs were available in a community, but rejected by able-bodied men who apparently preferred to remain on welfare rolls. There were frequent observations that families on food relief often had television sets and nice automobiles, and often the head of a household was reported to be spending money on whisky that was needed for the purchase of food for the children.

Throughout all of the responses—and from such widely separated states as Colorado and Florida, and Montana, Illinois, and Mississippi—there was the same central theme: the answer to the nutritional problem is basically one of education and not availability of food.

One respondent raised this very pertinent point:

"We have been greatly concerned during recent months by the general use of 'hunger,' starvation,' and 'malnutrition' as synonymous words or in the same trend of thought. Many people who are not hungry are malnourished."

From the South came numerous observations that problems arise often where an unwed mother with a number of children leaves two or three infants in the care of an older daughter perhaps only 9 or 10 years old.

As word of this committee's checkup spread, an occasional letter was received from persons other than officials of the counties involved. From Prof. John B. Parrish, professor of economics at the University of Illinois, who had done research on poverty, came this comment when he learned of the checkup:

"I have no doubt your evidence will classify the April 22, 1968, starvation report as one more poverty hoax."

Latin Allies Fear Paris Sell-Out

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How Czechs Aid Viet Cong

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NEWSPAPER

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Capital Briefs

● **Sterling Tucker**, national coordinator of the Poor People's "Solidarity Day" march last week, proclaimed it was going to be difficult for the poor to remain loyal to the United States unless they receive better treatment. "We want to remain loyal," he stated, "but it will be hard to remain loyal if we continue to suffer at the hands of our countrymen."

● Two of the three national secretaries recently elected by the radical **Students for a Democratic Society** (SDS) have described themselves as "Communists," but say they aren't following any particular brand. When queried about her political leanings, Bernadine Dorn, who has worked with the National Lawyers Guild, a Communist front, stated: "I consider myself a revolutionary Communist." Michael Klonsky, another secretary, said he had been a "Communist" for only a few months, but denied that he was a "Stalinist."

● A reporter at the recent SDS meeting in East Lansing, Mich., said he was thwarted from getting into a special SDS workshop on the **use of sabotage**.

● **Roy Wilkins** has sharply criticized Gov. Nelson Rockefeller for barging into an NAACP awards dinner in Philadelphia last week. Wilkins, the NAACP's director and the featured speaker at the banquet, made his remarks after Rocky had left the building with Gov. Raymond P. Shafer of Pennsylvania. "Those governors, as candidates for public office, had no business here tonight," said Wilkins. "You can't tell who I might vote for, but you can be sure he can't come in here and take advantage of a meeting of my organization."

● Officials of the **Americans for Democratic Action** have announced that they plan to produce a regular radio program called "An Appeal to Reason" to spread the liberal word throughout the nation.

● National Review will soon begin publishing a four-page newsletter called **Combat**, the major purpose of which will be to keep tabs on the Communist-oriented groups that are mushrooming around the country. The newsletter will be edited by Theodore Lit, a senior editor of the Conservative Book Club and former associate of Fulton Lewis Jr., and Mrs. Ruth Matthews, wife of the late J.B. Matthews, who has spent more than 15 years analyzing radical left activities. Combat's editorial adviser is longtime Soviet expert Eugene Lyons.

● Sen. Spessard Holland (D.-Fla.) says there may be a new effort to repeal the Taft-Hartley law's famous **Section 14b** permitting states to ban compulsory unionism. Union officials are already trying to commit leaders of both parties to such action with Vice President Humphrey vowing repeal if he has "anything to say about it." Meanwhile, the National Right-to-Work Committee is requesting both party platforms to affirm support for voluntary unionism.

● Nearly $1 million in **federal anti-poverty funds** has "strengthened and perpetuated" two South Side Chicago gangs, Sen. John L. McClellan (D.-Ark.) charged last week. McClellan said that the Office of Economic Opportunity had made a $927,341 grant to the Woodland Organization "to provide basic education and employment opportunities." The Arkansas solon said that evidence turned up by his Permanent Investigations subcommittee disclosed that the program "has had little success, if any, in providing either education or jobs to gang members." Instead, the funds went to subsidize youthful lawbreakers, including accused killers.

● FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover has told the House Appropriations Committee that the **tempo of espionage** directed against the U.S. is continually increasing, with "significantly stepped-up drives from Castro's Cuba and Red China." The Red Chinese, said Hoover, are making use of the 1965 immigration law which permits up to 20,000 Chinese to enter the United States annually. The Cubans, Hoover testified, are aided by the vast reservoir of Cuban refugees who entered the United States between 1965 and the end of last year.

● Politicos in the U.S. feel that if Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon become the presidential nominees of the two major parties, there will be mounting pressure on **Sen. McCarthy** to head his own "peace" party ticket.

● Leaders of the Communist Party, U.S.A., are openly boasting of their part in the violence which is sweeping the country. Says **Daniel Rubin**, the party's national organization secretary: "Communists are playing a significant role in the current disorders on U.S. college campuses and have made major contributions to the black ghetto rebellion over the past several years."

● **Robert Franklin Williams**, fiery chairman-in-exile of the Revolutionary Action Movement, has indicated that he is ready to return home and direct black nationalist activity. Rep. Paul Rogers (D.-Fla.) says that Williams should not be admitted to the United States on the ground that his "activities over the past seven years in Cuba and China are clear indications that he has renounced his citizenship as an American citizen."

● A New York jury last week convicted two members of the black nationalist **Revolutionary Action Movement** of conspiracy to murder moderate civil rights leaders Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young Jr. Herman B. Ferguson and Arthur Harris were convicted largely on the testimony of Edward Lee Howlette, a heroic Negro detective, who infiltrated their group to obtain the evidence.

● Conservative **Phyllis Schlafly**, author of "Safe, Not Sorry" and the 1964 best-seller "A Choice Not an Echo," was the only woman to be elected as a delegate to the Republican national convention in the entire state of Illinois. The primary was held June 11.

● The non-partisan Tax Foundation reports that Congress actually has almost **limitless funds** at its disposal. In addition to the President's 1969 budget, which calls for $202 billion in spending, there is $222 billion in previously authorized, but unspent funds, available. Thus, Congress has $424 billion with which to work. A $6-billion spending cut, which LBJ terms excessive, is only 1.4 per cent of the available federal funds.

● Rep. Ancher Nelson (R.-Minn.) points out **inflation** cost the American people $24 billion last year, a loss 18 times greater than the Depression, when 10,000 banks failed.

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Warren's Reported Resignation

United Press International quoted authoritative sources last week that Chief Justice Earl Warren had submitted his resignation to the President before the court had adjourned for the summer. Warren, as *Human Events* had previously mentioned, was thinking of resigning now, for he believes he would have a far better chance of influencing LBJ to select a "judicial activist" as his successor than he would have of influencing a Republican President to make such an appointment. Richard Nixon, the likely GOP candidate, moreover, has had a cool relationship with Warren ever since Nixon pushed for Ike over Warren as the Republican presidential nominee in 1952.

WARREN

Many observers fear that LBJ may do exactly as Warren wishes by tapping someone like Abe Fortas, who is not only a judicial activist but an old crony of the President's, for the chief justice spot and then pick another liberal to fill out the court.

The chief justice's efforts to keep the court packed with liberals has not been welcomed by a number of lawmakers who feel the court's decisions in recent years have made the United States a haven for criminals and security risks.

Balking at Warren's power play, Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R.-Mich.) remarked that he wants to "indicate emphatically, as one U.S. senator, that I shall not vote to confirm an appointment of the next chief justice by a 'lame duck' President.

"The Supreme Court has adjourned for the summer, and the people are about to choose a new government in November. For a lame duck President to designate the leadership of the Supreme Court for many years in the future would break faith with our system, and it would be an affront to the American people."

Readers of *Human Events* should quickly write their senators and tell them to follow Griffin's lead.

Red Bloc Backs Hanoi

While Senators Warren Magnuson (D.-Wash.) and Walter Mondale (D.-Minn.) are spearheading an Administration drive in Congress to step up trade with Communist countries in Europe, particularly Czechoslovakia, these same countries are now boasting about fresh economic and military deals they have just consummated with North Viet Nam.

MONDALE

These aid and trade agreements, timed to strengthen Hanoi's hand during the Paris peace talks, have been negotiated during a recent visit to Eastern Europe by an economic delegation from North Viet Nam headed by Deputy Premier Le Thanh Nghi.

Czechoslovakia, alleged by some optimists to be fast moving out of the Communist orbit, announced on June 17 that it had made an agreement to supply Hanoi with economic, technical and military aid. According to Czech news sources, the Czech government "will supply the DRV [Democratic Republic of Viet Nam], partly free of charge and partly in long-term loans, machinery, ship motors, diesel motors, trucks, tractors, bicycles, medical supplies and other supplies, and various kinds of capital investment equipment to consolidate the defense potential of the DRV."

Oblivious to any so-called "winds of change" sweeping through his country, Czech Deputy Premier Frantisek Hamouz denounced the United States and called for the U.S. to "unconditionally stop the bombardment of the DRV and all acts of war against it."

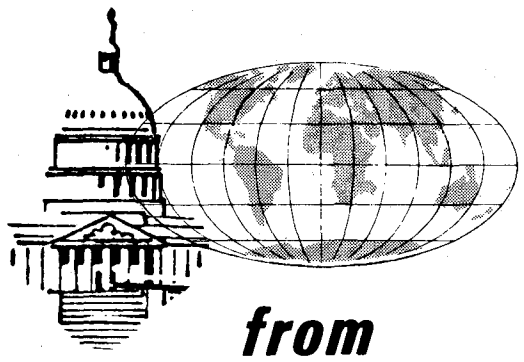
Hanoi's Le Thanh Nghi apparently didn't have much difficulty getting the other satellites to come across, either. Bulgaria announced on June 3 that it had signed an agreement to give North Viet Nam "economic and military aid." Bulgarian Deputy Premier Jano Tsolov celebrated the occasion by wishing Hanoi success "over the American aggressors and their satellites."

Hungary, whose press bragged in 1967 that its Communist Youth Union had sent 1,000 submachine guns to North Viet Nam, announced on May 28 that it had signed a "supplementary economic and military aid" pact to aid Hanoi. Poland, whose ships regularly carry huge quantities of war goods to Haiphong, declared on June 7 that it would supply the DRV "with machines and installation for complete industrial plants and other goods."

Rumania, another Communist country supposedly leaving the Red orbit, made a similar agreement. Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist party, stressed he was "firmly convinced that the Vietnamese people and fighters will surely win complete victory. So long as the U.S. imperialists continue their agression in Viet Nam, the Viet Nam people will continue to fight."

Despite this obvious solidarity in the Communist bloc, however, the State Department and a number of liberal congressmen still believe we should expand trade and aid with Eastern Europe—even in the teeth of all-out Communist aid to North Viet Nam.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

Allies Also Aid Ho

The Administration's efforts to prevent our allies from trading with North Viet Nam have proved somewhat less than successful. During the first five months of 1968, no fewer than 61 free world ships carried cargo to Hanoi.

This five-month figure compares with 78 free world ships delivering cargo to North Viet Nam for the entire year in 1967, and 74 for the 12 months of 1966. Thus, the number of free world ships going into North Viet Nam is running at a rate almost double each of the past two years.

The figures also reveal that of the 61 free world ships voyaging to Viet Nam this year, 49 flew the British flag—again, double the previous rate. Another disturbing fact is that for the first time since 1965 a ship flying the flag of Japan voyaged to Haiphong.

Observed Sen. Harry Byrd (D.-Va.): "It is significant and disturbing . . . that just as the shipping trend is sharply upward, so are American casualties.

"For the two calendar years 1966 and 1967, the United States suffered 106,000 casualties, for an average of 1,000 per week. But for the first five months of 1968, namely January through May, U.S. casualties totaled 58,812, or an average of 2,700 per week."

Byrd declared, further, that "one-third of all the casualties the American people have suffered in Viet Nam has occurred in the first five months of this year, and casualties of the past two months are at an all-time high."

When, asks Byrd, "will our government demand an end to the free world shipping going into North Viet Nam?

"When will the Congress demand an end?

"And when will the American people demand an end to this trade which is prolonging the war and increasing substantially the number of Americans being killed or wounded?"

The Liberals' New Hero

Rep. John Conyers (D.-Mich.), a leading House liberal, a member of the powerful Democratic Study Group and a vice chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, is proving to be one of the most militant left-wing **extremists in Congress.**

CONYERS

The Detroit Democrat recently announced he was forming a committee of Negro "leaders" to evaluate candidates for a variety of offices in the November election. His purpose is to prevent any candidate from receiving the Negro vote unless he has a sweeping program for black people tailored to Conyers' taste. (The Michigan lawmaker's idea of a sweeping program can be gathered from his own proposal to get the Congress to spend an additional $30 billion a year in Negro areas.)

While Conyers' office initially refused to tell Human Events **anything about the formation of this committee, stating that nothing was ready for publication, Conyers himself apparently didn't mind freely voicing his views to the** Worker, **the official organ of the Communist party of the United States.**

Conyers confided to the *Worker* that he envisioned the committee as a step toward organizing the Negroes in a vast bloc. He also told the *Worker* that Stokely Carmichael, the pro-Communist firebrand, has agreed to serve on his reviewing committee, along with the Rev. Ralph Abernathy and black militant Floyd McKissick.

Conyers remarked further that the committee might end up supporting Dick Gregory, the comedian-turned-militant, for President. (Among other things, Gregory asserts that the Detroit and Watts riots were sanctioned by the Declaration of Independence. He also calls America the "number one racist country in the world.")

When *Human Events* called Conyers' office to obtain the names of those asked to serve on the committee, a spokesman stressed that Conyers wasn't ready to release anything to the press. The same spokesman, however, later confirmed the *Worker* story as being accurate, but refused to go beyond it.

Conyers, of course, has a long history of radical affiliations. He has served on the national executive board of the National Lawyer's Guilt, a group cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities Committee as "the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist party." In 1965 Conyers keynoted a banquet of the New York Friends of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, some of whose chief officers have been identified as Communist party members.

A strong supporter of the pro-Communist Kwame Nkrumah when Nkrumah ruled Ghana, Conyers has written for *Labor Today*, a Detroit journal cited as a Communist propaganda organ by J. Edgar Hoover.

Despite his radicalism, however, Conyers is looked upon with increasing friendliness by the liberal Democratic bloc in Congress.

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Right-to-Work Victory

The National Right-to-Work Committee has apparently scored another stunning triumph in its battle to prevent the Administration from imposing compulsory unionism on the laboring man.

The committee, it will be recalled, was a prime mover in the 1966 campaign which saw a bipartisan group of senators, led by Illinois' golden-tongued orator, Everett Dirksen, turn back an effort to repeal the Taft-Hartley's famous Section 14b. This "right-to-work" clause permits states to pass a law allowing a man to work without having to belong to a union.

Last week the committee blocked a new effort by the Administration to please the labor bosses. Hungry for additional members and funds, the AFL-CIO has long called for an executive order that would compel federal government employes to either join unions or pay the equivalent of union dues. Such a recommendation was reported to be in a still-secret document prepared by the LBJ-appointed Labor Management Review Committee.

But Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz, chairman of the review committee, announced last week his committee "does not intend to recommend a union or agency shop for federal employes."

Wirtz, an advocate of compulsory unionism, was believed to have made the statement as a result of the tidal wave of public opposition to forced federal employe unionism stirred up by the Right-to-Work organization.

Despite this concession by Wirtz, there is still a need to nail down the right of federal employes not to join a union. Thus the public should still demand that their representatives in Congress pass the pending Bennett-Blackburn bills. Both Sen. Wallace Bennett (R.-Utah) and Rep. Benjamin Blackburn (R.-Ga.) have introduced bills which would clearly forbid federal employes from having to join a union or pay the union tribute of any sort. The time to pass such legislation is now, so that no future Administration can again threaten compulsory unionism for federal workers.

Will ABM Be Scrapped?

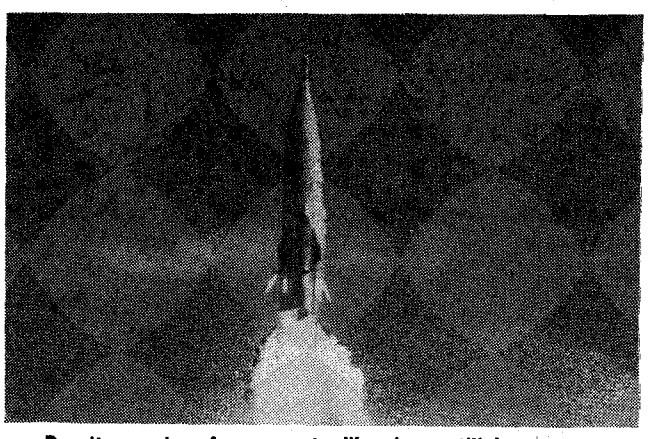
A coalition of liberal senators is waging a fierce battle to delay any move to deploy an anti-ballistic missile defense system that could partially protect the United States from a nuclear assault by Red China or the Soviet Union.

Led by Senators John Sherman Cooper (R.-Ky.) and Phillip Hart (D.-Mich.), these lawmakers have offered an amendment to the military construction bill that would postpone for at least one year the acquisition of the first Sentinel ABM tactical site facilities.

Influenced by such unilateral disarmament advocates as former White House scientific adviser Jerome Wiesner, the senators are arguing that huge sums of money could be saved by stopping the program. They also claim Red China is lagging in creating an Intercontinental Ballistic Missile delivery system, so, therefore, there is no need to worry. But behind all these arguments is the underlying belief of the liberals that any development of an ABM system would be "provocative" and increase tensions between the United States and the Communist powers.

A number of senators, including Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.), Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.), Richard Russell (D.-Ga.) and John Stennis (D.-Miss.), are rallying their colleagues against the Hart-Cooper assault.

Sen. Jackson, a ranking member of the Armed Services Committee and the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, introduced a letter from Defense Secretary Clark Clifford delcaring it would be a "serious mistake" to eliminate the Sentinel System which represents "twelve years of intense research and development effort. . . . As long as seven years ago we demonstrated that we could with confidence destroy single incoming missiles. Since that time, we have demonstrated that we can reliably track a substantial number of incoming objects and defend the U.S. from relatively simply missile attacks."



Despite warnings from experts, liberals are still downplaying the strength of Soviet missile development.

The Hart-Cooper offering, said Clifford, "would disrupt the work currently under way, and, more seriously, would lose some two years in the availability of an operating system which in my judgment is important to the security of the United States."

Sen. Jackson informed his colleagues that the Sentinel system would eventually be able to cope with both Red Chinese and Soviet missiles, even though it had been initially billed as an "anti-China" missile.

The respected Washington senator also warned that the Soviets and the Red Chinese were greatly increasinging their nuclear capacity, and that the "evidence I have indicates that the Soviets intend to surpass us in number of ICBMs within a year or so." Moreover, said Jackson, the Soviets "are deploying the Galosh defensive missile system around Moscow, and our best intelligence is that they are continuing to add to and improve their ballistic missile defense. . . ."

Red China, Jackson continued, "can be expected to have their first operational ICBM with a thermonuclear warhead capable of reaching most of the continental United States about the same time we get our first ABM missiles into place. In fact, our ABM deployment was delayed so long and we are now on such a tight time schedule that even under present plans we could be vulnerable."

Nevertheless, the Senate's liberal bloc is all set up to kill off the Sentinel this week.

Tax Bill

After 10 months of sometimes bitter haggling, Congress last week passed and sent to the President his supposedly "essential" 10 per cent income tax surcharge and a corresponding $6-billion budget cut that the Administration grudgingly accepted. Although the bill passed the House with bi-partisan support (154 Democrats and 114 Republicans voted for it), some conservatives and liberals continued to oppose the hike to the end.

Liberals were upset both over the tax itself (which they contended would be used exclusively to support the Viet Nam war) and the deep spending cuts, though the bill's architect, Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.), finally convinced most of them that LBJ could make the cuts without "substantially" reducing welfare programs. House conservatives, led by Representatives Thomas Curtis (R.-Mo.) and H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa), argued that the $6-billion reduction in fiscal 1969 spending was inadequate.

Fifteen days after LBJ signs the bill into law, individuals will feel its impact when an extra 10 per cent will be withheld from their paychecks. Corporations will be docked 10 per cent when they file their annual tax returns. The intent of the bill is to provide additional government revenue by mid-1969 for the announced purpose of reducing the fiscal '69 budget deficit and lessening inflationary pressures in the economy.

Government officials are now conceding, however, that they aren't certain how much actual good the tax hike will do and that the public may be disappointed with the results.

"We've built this tax increase into such a symbolic thing," one Administration figure says, "that I can't help but wonder if people will expect too much of it." Although the bill is designed to curb inflation, federal economists admit that it will not eliminate the threat of inflation nor will it appreciably dry up the dollar drain to foreign nations.

Additionally, because of the bigger tax bite, business is expected to raise prices and unions to demand wage hikes; also, corporations will likely step up their borrowing activities and demand heftier loans in the weeks ahead. "I'm sure the tax increase will slow inflation," says an optimistic Treasury Department official, "but I mean in 1969—1968 is a year we just have to write off the books."

As to the crucial balance-of-payments deficit situation, the tax hike is expected to have little or no easing effect. Administration officials still contend that controls on business investment overseas are the best means to improve the balance of payments, rather than having the federal government cut some of its foreign outlays.

So, now that Congress has gone out on a limb and passed an "essential" tax boost in an election year, the Administration appears to be backtracking a bit on its promises of what the increase will accomplish. But, then, LBJ is not running this year.

'Insurrection City'

Vice President Hubert Humphrey, Sen. Eugene McCarthy, the Ripon Society, a representative of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and other liberal individuals and organizations all participated in "Solidarity Day," billed as the climactic demonstration of the Poor People's Campaign. But when the big day had ended, even though supported by 50,000 marchers, most of them very well off, the campaign had clearly proved a bust and had only led to increased violence in Washington—the very violence the liberals so piously claim they are against.

On the eve of Solidarity Day, for example, some 17 reported assaults had occurred within Resurrection City—the makeshift home of the Poor People—with one fellow taken from the city to Freedmen's Hospital for a cut throat. A second blood-spattered man, identified as a campaign marshal, was taken from the city by ambulance after he was hit over the head with a plank of wood by another marshal.

Police could offer no further information on the assaults because, they said, they are not permitted inside the city. The day after the march, Metropolitan and Park Police had to hurl tear gas into what the liberal Washington *Post* called "an unruly crowd of rock- and bottle-throwing Poor People's Campaign marchers. . . ." The confrontation occurred at 8 p.m. June 20 when about 300 campaigners returned to the encampment from a demonstration at the Department of Agriculture where 77 persons were arrested. "That demonstration," said the *Post*, "in which six campaigners and three policemen were injured, came on the heels of a call by the campaign's leader, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, for increased civil disobedience."

Among the many groups participating in the "Poor People's Campaign" was the liberal GOP group, the Ripon Society. In the background, demonstrators frolic in the Reflecting Pool.

Meanwhile, the Rev. Abernathy says the campaigners will not strike their tents in Resurrection City even when their permit to reside there expires. Thus does this clownish but dangerous campaign continue.

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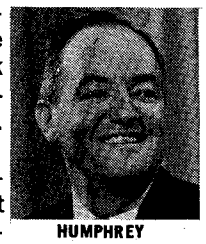
POLITICS '68

NEW YORK

Hubert Humphrey may have captured most of the delegates who will meet at the Democratic National Convention, but the heart of **the party's rank and file** obviously belongs to somebody else.


HUMPHREY

A delegate slate favoring Humphrey has yet to win close to a majority of the votes in any primary in the nation, with Humphrey getting trounced even in his native state of South Dakota. Even more significant, Senators Eugene McCarthy and the late Bobby Kennedy, both running on an **anti-Administration platform**, together collected more than 70 per cent of the vote in several of the primaries.

The **New York primary** last week only served to underscore the dissatisfaction Democratic voters feel toward the current Administration. Jolting the political pros, McCarthy managed to pick up 63 of the 123 district delegates elected, with 30 delegates going to RFK forces and only 11 for Humphrey. The rest were uncommitted. As a result of this whopping victory, McCarthy is now expected to receive at least half of the **65 delegates-at-large** to be chosen at the August nominating convention.

Further indications of anti-Humphrey sentiment were revealed in the three-way Democratic Senate primary when **Paul O'Dwyer**, an all-out McCarthy supporter, managed to upset **Eugene Nickerson**, Kennedy's hand-picked candidate, with Rep. **Joseph Resnick**, a stout Humphrey supporter, running third.

Allard K. Lowenstein, a vice chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action and credited with helping McCarthy decide to challenge LBJ last winter, also scored an upset victory in a primary campaign for Congress on Long Island.

In short, say the pros, the Democratic rank and file is desperate for a change in leadership, but the chances are that the party bosses will still nominate Humphrey in Chicago.

• In other New York contests: Democratic Rep. **Edna Kelly** lost in her bid to defeat House Judiciary Chairman **Emanuel Celler** to see who would represent Brooklyn's newly created 10th District. . . . **Theodore Sorensen's delegate slate** in Manhattan's 17th Congressional District lost to the McCarthy slate, headed by Mrs. Eleanor Clark French, by almost 3 to 1. . . . Latest figures showed Richard Nixon winning at least four delegates away from Rocky, two in Queens and two in Erie County. Supporters of the former vice president lost three contests in the Rochester area.

HUMPHREY

While Sen. Eugene McCarthy was winning a handsome victory in **New York** last week, supporters of Vice President Hubert Humphrey were picking up the key spots at the **Democratic National Convention.**

Sen. **Daniel Inouye** of Hawaii, for example, was chosen by the Arrangements Committee to be the temporary chairman of the convention and Rep. **Hale Boggs** of Louisiana was named chairman of the Resolutions Committee.

Boggs, the House Majority Whip, was one of the original founders of **United Democrats for Humphrey**, while Inouye announced his support for Humphrey on the eve of the vice president's formal declaration for the presidency.

Other major officers of the convention are also said to be in Humphrey's corner. These include: House Majority Leader **Carl Albert** of Oklahoma, who will be permanent chairman; New Jersey Gov. **Richard Hughes**, who will be chairman of the Credentials Committee, and Illinois Gov. **Samuel Shapiro**, chosen as chairman of the Rules Committee.

Angered by these selections, former Democratic National Chairman **Stephen Mitchell,** who is running convention operations for Sen. McCarthy, claimed that he didn't "see any McCarthy friends there at all." He added: "It's obvious that President Johnson is back in the saddle and leads the National Committee like a mule under a halter."

Republicans, on the other hand, were gleeful about the convention appointments controversy, viewing it as another sign of just how badly the Democratic party is split.

MATHIAS

Rep. **Charles Mathias** (R.-Md.), bidding for the U.S. Senate seat now held by Democrat **Daniel Brewster**, continues to be the beneficiary of ultra-liberal support. Only recently the radical Council for a Livable World, noting Mathias' dovishness on Viet Nam and his promotion of East-West trade and disarmament, enthusiastically endorsed the Maryland Republican.

MATHIAS

Now Mathias is also getting heavy support from the leftish **National Committee for an Effective Congress**. Organized in 1948, the NCEC's first chairman was Jimmy Roosevelt, who announced that the group's goal was to liberalize both the Democratic and Republican parties by channelling "practical and direct support toward the election of qualified liberals to the national legislature."

Over the years the NCEC has pursued its **leftward bent**. Aside from supporting such Democratic liberals as Hubert Humphrey, Eugene McCarthy, Wayne Morse and J. W. Fulbright, the organization has pumped funds into the super-liberal Democratic Study Group (DSG), comprised of some 150 House members. Now it has decided to support Mathias, who says he is "very grateful" for the committee's endorsement.

WALLACE

Alabama's **George Wallace** descended on the Southern Governors Conference in Charleston, S.C., last week and everyone present could feel the ground (and a few of the conferees) begin to tremble. Third-party candidate Wallace, it was suddenly realized, stood a good chance of carrying **at least half the South** in the November presidential contest.

WALLACE

"No one is articulating a position as a Democrat in the South," declaimed former George Gov. **Carl Sanders** at the conference. "There's an absolutely vacant field for Wallace right now, and unless someone starts speaking out . . . we're not going to be in the ball game."

In private conversations with the **Southern governors** (all but Arkansas' Winthrop Rockefeller, Florida's Claude Kirk and Maryland's Spiro Agnew are Democrats), newspaper reporters came away with the clear impression that Sanders was correct. These politicos are "convinced," reported the Baltimore Sun, that Wallace "can carry enough of their states . . . to throw the election of the next President into the **House of Representatives.** A survey . . . showed they believe that Mr. Wallace has a better-than-fair chance of taking at least nine states, with 91 electoral college votes among them, in the November elections."

The **nine states**, according to the Sun, include five in the Deep South: Georgia (12 electoral votes), Louisiana (10), Mississippi (7), Alabama (10), and South Carolina (8). Also listed as now leaning to Wallace are Florida (14), Tennessee (11), Arkansas (6) and North Carolina (13). Some Wallace backers also claim their man has a good chance of taking Maryland, with 10 electoral votes, where Wallace made a good showing (43 per cent) in a 1964 presidential primary.

Despite Wallace's supposed strength in the South, prominent Democrats in the area are not leaping aboard any bandwagons. When the fiery Alabaman appeared at a press conference in Charleston, only three attending governors—Brewer of Alabama, Maddox of Georgia and Williams of Mississippi—appeared on the dais with him; of these, only Brewer (who succeeded to the governership on Lurleen Wallace's death) has said he is backing George all the way. Most of the other Democratic state leaders attending the Southern Governors Conference are thought to be supporting **Vice President Humphrey.**

Later in the week, the **Gallup Poll** confirmed the predicted estimates of Wallace's Southern strength. Matched against Democrat Humphrey and Republican Richard Nixon, the poll shows Wallace drawing 47 per cent support in the Deep South, 23 per cent in the rest of the South, for an average total Southern figure of 29 per cent. The same poll asked Democratic county chairmen in the five Deep South states to predict the Wallace November vote in their states. The results from those responding had Wallace carrying Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana.

It is this last prediction—that Wallace will probably only carry three states come November—that worries Republican professionals and many rank-and-file conservatives. They feel that although Wallace may well fail to win the other states of the South, he will pull enough anti-Administration votes away from the GOP nominee to insure a Humphrey sweep in this area, giving the vice president a big electoral boost toward the White House.

CONNECTICUT

Connecticut Republicans have selected former congressman **Edwin May**, now a Hartford insurance executive, as their senatorial candidate in the upcoming elections. May's chief opponent for the nomination, ex-Rep. **Abner Sibal**, dropped his challenge midway in the balloting at the recent Republican state convention.

May is believed to have a solid shot at incumbent Democrat **Abraham Ribicoff**, former Connecticut governor and one-time secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. In 1962, Ribicoff won the Democratic nomination, but only after boss **John Bailey**, Connecticut state chairman, politically bludgeoned another candidate into not making a bid against Ribicoff. In the general election, Ribicoff eked out a narrow victory over his Republican opponent, winning by less than 26,000 out of over one million votes cast.

In winning the nomination, May outlined what his main line of attack on the one-term incumbent will be, charging that Ribicoff follows "**the handout philosophy of the New Deal**, that any problem can only be solved by new departments with a few thousand more bureaucrats and a few more million dollars to spend."

NIXON

Complete returns from New Jersey's **GOP presidential primary** give Richard Nixon a smashing victory over Nelson Rockefeller. The results of the June 4 primary were overshadowed by the assassination of Sen. Robert Kennedy and the presidential write-in votes were slow in being counted.

The final tally shows that Nixon received **71,809 write-ins**, more than six times the number polled by Rocky (11,530). California Gov. Ronald Reagan received 2,737 votes and liberal Sen. **Clifford Case**, who nurses favorite-son hopes, received a grand total of seven (count 'em) votes. That was three fewer than comic Pat Paulsen, who was favored by 10 voters.

Nixon's total was more than Goldwater, Rockefeller and Lodge combined received in 1964 New Jersey primary write-ins. The Hackensack Record, never considered friendly to the former vice president, admitted that the Nixon vote was a "**fantastic success.**"

The Garden State is considered a liberal bastion where backers of Rockefeller have always assumed that he would run strongly.

New Jersey's 40 delegates are at present uncommitted, although Rockefeller is making an all-out effort to woo them. The delegation will caucus July 22 in Newark and could abandon uncommitted status at that time.

N.Y. SENATE SEAT

A chief gossip and rumor subject on Capitol Hill these days is who will be selected by New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller to fill the **Senate seat** left vacant by the assassination of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. It is assumed Rockefeller will follow tradition and name someone from his party, but the possibility that he might pick a Democratic Kennedy loyalist, such as **Stephen Smith** or **Ted Sorensen**, is not being ruled out.

Thus far most speculation has centered around New York City Mayor **John Lindsay**, who after Rocky and Sen. **Jacob Javits**, is the state's ranking GOP officeholder. It is thought, however, that Lindsay probably prefers to stay in his present job, hoping to prove he can govern the "ungovernable" metropolis, and then run for the Senate or governorship in 1970. Other GOP possibilities being mentioned for the vacancy are former HEW Secretary **John Gardner**, congressional candidate **James Farmer**, former Sen. **Kenneth Keating** and Representatives **Ogden Reid** and **Charles Goodell.**

Three conservative Republicans in the New York State congressional delegation, Representatives **Paul Fino, Carleton King** and **James Grover**, last week wrote Rockefeller suggesting he appoint a GOP conservative from the heavily Republican upstate area to Kennedy's seat. Rockefeller, Javits and Lindsay are all from New York City. "We very much regret," their letter stated, "that only the names of prominent liberals—some of them of dubious Republicanism—have thus far been mentioned. [The New York GOP] cannot afford to become an auxiliary of fashionable Manhattan liberalism."

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M. Stanton Evans' New Book

'The Future of Conservatism'

Reviewed by SEN. JOHN TOWER (R.-Tex.)

"By developing the proper strategy and seizing the relevant occasions, the Republican party can work a major transformation of American politics. . . it can halt the devolution of our system into a consolidated welfare state and foster a new era of decentralization, constitutional restraint of power, and reaffirmation of individual freedom." This is the thesis of M. Stanton Evans in his latest scholarly work, *The Future of Conservatism.*

This is no ordinary political book dealing with an ideology or partisan panacea. There are too many such books around these days by both politicians and social critics that tell us what should be done to America. Stan Evans concerns himself with the techniques of *how* instead of the dogmas of *why.*

The Future of Conservatism
By M. Stanton Evans
Holt, Rinehart and Winston
New York, 1968
304 pages. $5.95
(This book may be ordered from Human Events.)

His new book presents a compelling case for continued optimism in the growth and eventual triumph of American conservatism in wresting the reins of power from the liberals who have had a virtual hegemony for the past three and a half decades.

The Future of Conservatism is also a book about the past. Mr. Evans is no apologist for the failures of conservatives, for according to Evans the conservatives have not failed; they have not been losers as the liberals contend. Evans fills his book with facts, figures and charts to prove that conservatism is alive and viable for the future.

The author begins his discourse with a chapter on "the two Americas." Politically speaking, Evans argues, America is a nation of two faces. One face is a mask that has been created by the news media and glossy periodicals which carry the liberal message and elan to the citizenry across the country.

The news media glorifies the liberal politician and boosts the image of a John Lindsay while minimizing the dynamic appeal of a Ronald Reagan. Thus it is that many of the uninformed are unaware of the strength and appeal of the conservative philosophy or conservative candidates.

Evans attacks the pseudo-analysis by the liberal press by presenting cogent arguments for the real America. Evans feels that there are essentially six majorities in this country—six political segments or coteries operating within our governmental system.

Most people are familiar with the "plebiscitary majority," for it is decided at the polls. However, American voters are rarely offered a distinct choice between liberal and conservative candidates. Therefore, it is difficult to determine the ideological sentiment in America by a Gallup poll or election returns. The plebiscitary majority is not then the ideological majority.

Other majorities include an "intellectual majority" of political scientists and theorists which presumably the liberals have because of the plethora of liberal publications, periodicals and prognostication.

There is also a "congressional majority" which is clearly held by the conservatives in the House of Representatives and by conservative Republicans in the United States Senate. Such congressional majorities make possible the defeat of such efforts as repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, permitting states to adopt right-to-work laws.

A fifth majority is the Electoral College majority which may or may not coincide with popular election victories at the ballot box.

A sixth majority is termed by Evans as the majority of the future. It is to this "majority of the future" that Evans directs his attention.

Though there are parts of the book pleasing to the political theorist, the bulk of the work deals with the practical and pragmatic politics of today and the future.

In a reasoned look to the future, the author discusses the new political demography of the nation. The big urban inner cities are losing population, along with the Eastern industrial states. These two geographic divisions have usually been strongholds for liberals and the Democratic party. But no more.

Recent census findings report that population is shifting quickly to the suburbs and to states west of the Appalachians. In general, suburbanites are distinguished by high educational levels, high incomes, good housing and good jobs. Such a middle-class electoral elite is a natural ally for conservatives advocating fiscal responsibility, an end to welfare handouts, decreased federal intervention in community affairs and adherence to law and order. And the growing states of the West and South are becoming increasingly more Republican and more conservative. The 1966 elections gave Republicans control of the governorships of every state west of the Rocky Mountains except Utah and Hawaii. Likewise, Republicans were elected to the Senate in three states of the Solid South. In 1968 Republicans and conservatives should garner greater gains in the South and the West.

Mr. Evans takes his gloves off in roundly attacking liberal Republicanism.

(Unfortunately perhaps, the book deals mostly with the future of conservatism in the Republican party and pays little attention to the conservative wing of the Democratic party.)

Evans feels that in the United States there are more conservatives than there are Republicans and that to maintain our two-party system the Republicans must provide a legitimate alternative to the Democrats.

It is a crucial mistake to imbue the Republican party with a "me-tooism" brand of liberalism. Evans indicts the Republican liberals thus:

"The professed object is to save the Republican party by injecting it with liberalism; the real object is to save liberalism by injecting it with the Republican party."

Such a strong statement is surely open for debate; the liberals feel at home in both parties. I think that conservatives must never forget that they do not own the Republican party outright: They merely have a lease on it which comes up for renewal every two to four years. This lease must be won at the polls, in precinct conventions, county conventions and state conventions.

The conservatives followed such a route in capturing the reins of th Republican party in 1964. In 1968 I fully expect the conservatives to retain their dominance and pick up additional strength in the South and West. The liberals will put up a gallant fight and conservatives who have found a new home in the Republican party must be willing to do their homework—or precinct work, as is the case.

The Future of Conservatism is attuned to the present. Evans deals with the new consensus politics and the New Left and New Right. Surprisingly enough, many of the ideas of the New Left are similar to, and an outgrowth of, the Old and New Right in this country.

Milton Friedman, University of Chicago economist and Goldwater economic

Sen. Tower—one of the country's leading conservatives—sees in the Evans book a "compelling case for continued optimism in the growth and eventual triumph of American conservatism."

adviser in 1964, is the father of the "negative income tax" which has been endorsed by William F. Buckley Jr. as well as by some noted liberals.

Likewise much of the fuzzy thinking of the New Left student groups like Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) centers around opposition to increased centralization and collectivism on the part of the federal government. Richard Goodwin, a former aide to President Kennedy, adviser to Robert Kennedy, and now aide to Eugene McCarthy, was quoted last year as saying that the ". . .most troubling political fact of our age is that the growth in central power has been accompanied by a swift and continual diminution in the significance of the individual citizen, transforming him from a wielder to an object of power."

How ironic it is that liberals are now heeding the conservative pontifications made years ago!

The new consensus in America, then, is a more aware and sophisticated elite which cannot be easily assuaged like the struggling, unfortunate minority groups in the New Deal era. The empty promises and ineffective panaceas of a mammoth federal government are easily exposed by bright, young collegians as well as by angry left-wing militants. Conservatism is a philosophy founded on the bulwark of increased personal freedom and an end to restrictive governmental controls reaching into the daily affairs of all Americans.

There is legitimate cause for rejoicing on the part of conservatives, for the New Right is zealously heralding the mantle of conservatism to the young and alienated. Such New Right student groups as Intercollegiate Studies Institute (ISI) and Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) have memberships that far exceed the numerical strength of the most infamous of New Left student groups, SDS. Unfortunately, the anarchic and coercive tactics of SDS on major college campuses have produced a tremendous publicity blitz overshadowing the actual strength and influence of such New Left groups.

M. Stanton Evans offers conservatives a book filled with refutations to liberal arguments that conservatism is a dying ideology ill-suited for the crises of today's world. He examines the possibility of a conservative Congress and forecasts the changes likely when a conservative President is inaugurated.

In an excellent chapter on "the power of negative thinking," the author refutes the oft-heard diatribe that conservatives are against everything and advocate no positive programs of their own. Of course, since conservatives have not been in command of the federal government, it has been impossible to inaugurate their own programs; thus a defensive role is natural until a conservative team can capture the ball and establish the offensive. However, it is the opposition to increased federal spending and lenient law enforcement which has given conservatives a powerful issue which they can capitalize on in November as they did in the electoral triumphs of 1966.

Evans gives one of the most interesting analyses of the Goldwater campaign that has yet been offered. Goldwater's 27 million votes were a concrete nucleus of solid conservative support; he lost the election because traditional Republicans, independents and moderates deserted the fold or were deceived by the rhetoric and pseudo-image used by the opposition.

In particular, the Goldwater campaign of 1964 is seen as a major turning point—heralding the growth of Republican power in two sections of the country which will from now on hold the balance of power, the South and the West.

Mr. Evans might be accused of being too optimistic, but I feel that his case is so well documented and superbly presented that all conservatives should welcome his book as a fresh and vibrant approach to the opportunities that lie before us.

M. Stanton Evans is a fellow Texan, a Yale graduate, editor of the Indianapolis *News*, a featured journalist for *National Review* and a contributing editor of *Human Events*. The literate and smooth style combines the ease of good journalism with the wit and eloquence of cogent criticism. Those who are acquainted with Evans' other works (*Revolt on the Campus, The Liberal Establishment*, and *The Politics of Surrender*) will find this book equally relevant and enjoyable.

The author concludes his work with optimism and promise, dismissing the self-fulfilling prophecy that the reversal of historical form—from centralization to decentralization—is impossible. Conservatives must never allow such a difficult task to neutralize their greatest asset, their commitment to idea and principle. Conservatives and the Republican party can control America's destiny.

The Future of Conservatism may be viewed today as just a plan of hope, but for M. Stanton Evans and myself, this book represents the beginning of a new and better world through the goal of a conservative America in the near future.

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Pressures Mount for Foreign Aid Cuts

United Nations debts of many recipients cited by foes

By ROBERT S. ALLEN

The powerful congressional bloc opposing the voting of more billions for foreign aid is injecting a new issue into the closely contested controversy.

The point is being strongly made that some of the principal beneficiaries of U.S. aid and some of the harshest foes of the U.S. are heavily in arrears in payments for the maintenance of the United Nations, its various agencies and peacekeeping forces. Foremost among these unpublicized debtors, as of March 31, 1968, are:

• Russia—which soaringly tops the list with an astounding unpaid total of $30.106 million. Of this amount, $13.217 million is owing on the regular U.N. budget; $39.223 million on the U.N. Congo account; $27.665 million on the U.N. Emergency Force.

• The seven other Iron Curtain countries owe an additional $28.392 million—making a combined total for the Communist bloc of $108.498 million. Topping the satellite list is the Ukraine with $9.778 million; Poland, $5.766 million; Czechoslovakia, $5.208 million; Hungary $2.713 million; Rumania, $1.518 million.

• France—which owes the U.S. around $7 billion in World War I debts, and to which the U.S. gave some $9 billion in economic and military aid following World War II—$17.76 million. This U.N. indebtedness was accumulated under President de Gaulle, who has made utmost use of the U.N. to criticize, harass and oppose the U.S.

Other sizable U.N. debtors are—Argentina, $2.69 million; Mexico, $1.465 million; Cuba, $907,875; United Arab Republic, $400,333; Yugoslavia, $340,867; Venezuela, $557,256; the Philippines, $367,797; Peru, $287,925; India, $187,545; Pakistan, $140,000; Saudi Arabia, $144,377.

In citing these little-known figures, Rep. Vernon Thomson (R.-Wis.), influential member of the Foreign Affairs Committee who is demanding drastic foreign aid curtailment, stressed the following significant contrasts:

• Of the 122 United Nations members, only 37 are not in arrears. That is, less than one-third of the membership has paid all its obligations.

• The remaining 85 owe an overall total of $172.079 million. Of this, 56 owe $82.107 million on the U.N. Congo account; 76, $55.813 million on the U.N. Emergency Force; and 59, $34.145 million on the regular budget.

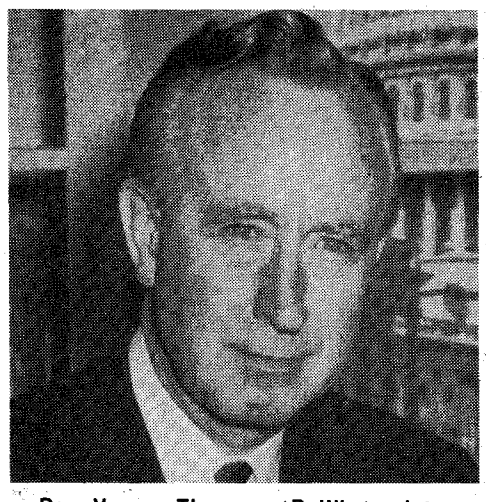
• But the United States, in the five years 1963-67, paid into the U.N. and its various agencies and activities the huge total of $538.301 million. Of that, $154.915 million was for the regular budget; $303.602 million for specialized agencies, and $79.784 million for peacekeeping forces.

• This immense U.S. contribution is well over one-third of the U.N.'s total income.

Rep. Thomson vigorously contends that U.N. members, big and small, in default on their payments should be barred from participating and voting.

The former Wisconsin governor points out that the World Court in an advisory opinion held that "operation of the United Nations in the Congo and Middle East were 'expenses of the organization which should be borne by the members as apportioned by the General Assembly.'"

"When the U.N. decided that 'peacekeeping efforts' were essential to the fulfillment of the U.N.'s objectives," Thomson said, "It was assumed that the collective financial responsibility of member nations would apply to that activity. But certain nations have refused to observe the law or abide by it, and our government, not wishing to 'have the work of the General Assembly immobilized in these troubled days,' has assumed a permissive attitude and refused to insist on observance of the law.



Rep. Vernon Thomson (R.-Wis.) points out that the limp-wristed attitude of the U.S. government seems to carry over into the workings of the United Nations.

"The result is that Russia, which should be denied a vote because it is more than $80 million in arrears, and France, which also should be denied a vote because it is nearly $18 million in arrears, and the many other countries also in default, are still permitted to participate and vote even though they flout the very law under which the United Nations is organized.

"It is little wonder that respect for our government has declined. It is little wonder that lawlessness increases when responsible officials of our government here at home and in international deliberations demonstrate our lack of moral commitment and confirm that we have an over-supply of weak knees.

"The biggest surplus in the American government today is weak knees. The moral courage which inspired the American dream of government under law has become so eroded that this nation and the world are faced with the choice of military government or anarchy.

"A permissive society has developed under which terror tactics and destruction are condoned as instruments of social reform. Civil wrongs are encouraged as means of achieving civil rights, and large segments of society assume the right to determine which laws they will obey and which they will ignore.

"This lack of determined adherence to the moral idealism of respect for law as the only means of providing freedom and justice for all makes government appear impotent and our cities suffer under the rule of the jungle."

So widespread and powerful has congressional opposition become to voting more billions for foreign aid that it's anyone's guess when the President's proposed long-stalled, $2.9-billion budget will be acted on.

The required authorizing legislation has been stalled for months in both the Senate and House foreign affairs committees.

So powerful is the bipartisan opposition in both committees that even if bills are finally reported out, the President's "bare bones" request is certain to be drastically slashed.

He will be lucky if he winds up with $1.5 billion. It is known determined efforts will be made to cut the amount well below that.

Last year the House came within eight votes of killing foreign aid outright. That could happen this year—with clamor for economy predominant and Congress virtually committed to lop $6 billion from the budget.

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Fear Sell-Out in the Making

Paris Talks Worry Our Latin Allies

By PAUL D. BETHEL

The Washington *Post* aroused concern in the diplomatic community and raised temperatures at the State Department when it reported May 15: "The United States is now prepared to accept a role for the Communists in the political life of South Viet Nam—and to accept it regardless of the protests of the Thieu-Ky government." And Vice President Hubert Humphrey added to the concern by also suggesting in one of his speeches that this may be the final outcome of the peace talks.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk gently corrected the vice president, and Rusk and Paris negotiator Averell Harriman heatedly denied the *Post* story. But all of this has not allayed fears in Latin America that a vast sell-out may be in the making.

The Viet Nam conflict is the prototype of all future wars of Communist aggression. A precedent established in Paris accepting the Viet Cong National Liberation Front in a future coalition government could have no effect other than to undercut our allies elsewhere in the world.

Specifically, governments south of our border have been fighting National Liberation Fronts for years and those fronts have been trained, supplied and directed by Castro's Cuba. Latin America, therefore, looks upon the Paris talks not so much as an attempt to gain peace in the Far East, but as a strong indication of what position the United States will take toward the Viet Nam-type conflicts now spreading throughout the world.

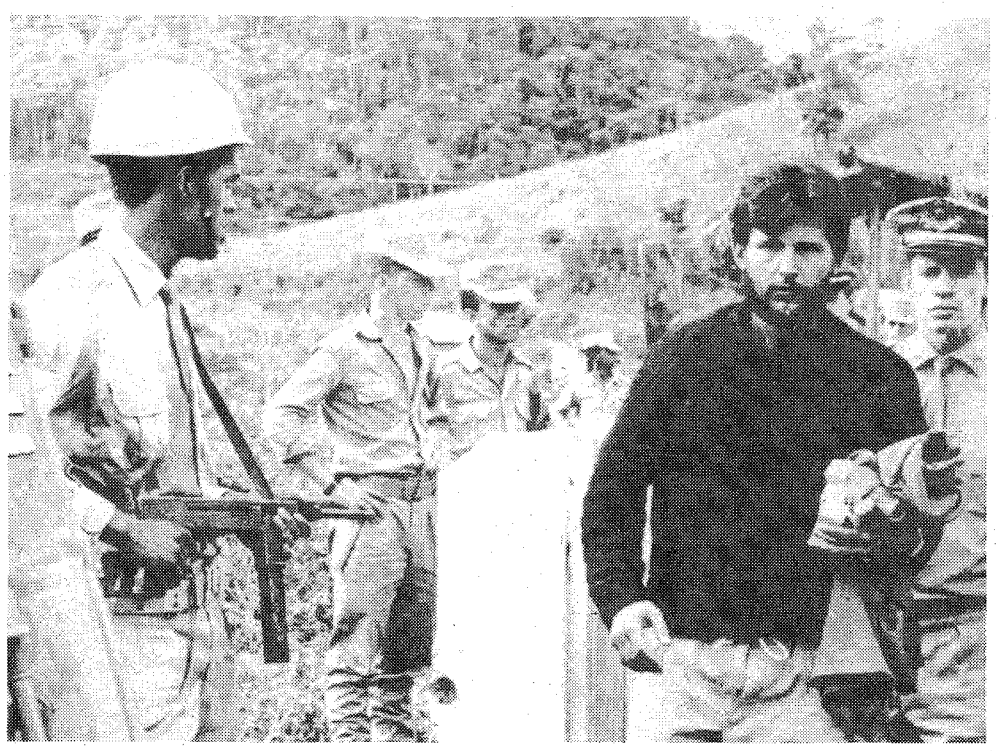
Commenting on how the Paris negotiations may affect the long-range U.S. position, Costa Rica's *Prensa Libre* got to the point: "The truth of the matter is that it is Moscow, not Hanoi, that is facing the United States in Paris. Hanoi counts for nothing." The paper then asked: "What success can come out of peace negotiations with assassins . . . who attack cities and murder women and children just to improve their bargaining position in Paris?" The editorial underscores a warning that U.S. bargainers should heed: Don't weaken our world position for an ephemeral accommodation with the Communists in the Far East.

Our allies in the Western Hemisphere will remember an article that appeared in the Dec. 15, 1964, issue of *Pravda* forecasting Viet Nam-type guerrilla wars around the globe and revealing Moscow's interest and hand in those wars in unmistakable terms. Commenting on burgeoning guerrilla assaults against the government of Colombia's President Guillermo Leon Valencia, *Pravda* sketched the Viet Nam corollary for Latin America when it declared that "This war is very little different from the dirty war being fought in Viet Nam" and then vowed that no amount of counteraction or "U.S. imperialist aid" could stop it from growing in size and intensity.

For their part, Venezuelans recall that on the heels of the *Pravda* article, Venezuela's National Liberation Front chief, German Lairet, signed a "mutual aid pact" with the Viet Cong Mission in Havana. In signing it, Lairet said: "It is especially significant that Venezuela and Viet Nam should meet on Cuban soil." Indeed it was.

And this brings up the matter of Cuba, a sore point with a State Department that wishes somehow the island would quietly sink into the Caribbean Sea. But the fact is that it won't. Communist Cuba has emerged as the "North Viet Nam" of this hemisphere and this is what worries our Latin American allies as they watch the talks progress in Paris.

Cuba's 43 guerrilla training camps turn out an estimated 10,000 activists a year and they are infiltrated back into their homelands much like the North Vietnamese infiltrate their men and supplies into the south. Viet Cong instructors have manned those camps for more than five years, while Russian and Red Chinese strategists sit cheek-by-jowl on the central coordinating body in Havana, the Tricontinental Organization, where they direct new "Viet Nams" throughout the world.



Brazilian police flush a Red-backed guerrilla base in that country's Minas Gerais state. Communist terrorism and subversion has markedly increase in recent years, especially in Latin America.

Tanzanians, Congolese, Ethiopian tribesmen, Yemenites, cadres of the National Liberation Front of Aden, Puerto Ricans, U.S. Negroes and whites and even members of the rag-tail Palestine Liberation Army pour through Cuba's guerrilla camps, while others are graduated from schools devoted to teaching sophisticated methods of subversion and infiltration.

In Guatemala, the Castroite Rebel Armed Forces and the November 13 Movement are making a shambles of the economy. In Colombia, just last January two more guerrilla fronts erupted, raising to four the number of sizable groups engaging the armed forces. One, the so-called Popular Liberation Army, is armed with Czech and Soviet weapons and is reported to be attired in camouflage uniforms and steel helmets, indications that it is a highly trained assault force.

In April and May, Venezuela weathered one of its severest tests against well-entrenched guerrilla groups. On March 12, Venezuelan guerrillas aped the tactics of the North Koreans. Dressing 30 of a 50-man guerrilla force in Venezuelan army uniforms, the force managed to penetrate the small town of Sabana de Uchire, capture and hold it for three hours. During that period the guerrillas summoned people to the town square, gave revolutionary speeches, laconically shot some *a la* Viet Cong, and disappeared into the jungle with money and weapons.

It is little wonder, then, that Latin American nations see the negotiations over South Viet Nam as a part of a larger picture of Communist tactics to improve their position everywhere.

Even Mexico, generally regarded as among the most stable of the Latin American countries, now has a Movement of National Liberation operating within its borders. The Soviet-dominated Mexican Communist party is behind it, making highly suspect claims coming from our spokesmen in Washington that Castro's export of guerrilla wars is considered by Moscow to be prejudicial to its more "peaceful" approach to sovietizing Latin America.

There is a certain element of poetic justice in this, for Mexico has consistently defended the Castro-Communist regime. Moreover, it is the only country in Latin America which maintains trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba. Thus, President Johnson's habit of being seen in amiable conversation with Mexico's President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz at Punta del Este and elsewhere is particularly galling to other Latins who have not violated the spirit or letter of the charter of the Organization of American States.

However that may be, internal pressures and intimidation now attend diplomatic negotiations under way in Paris—on the streets and in university campuses in this country. The April campus riots were, for the most part, treated by our press as local stories triggered by local grievances. But the fact is that in virtually every instance the riots began or reached their peak in response to a Communist call from Havana which designated April 21-28 as the "week of solidarity with Viet Nam," which is to say a week of riots against the U.S. war effort.

On April 22, Havana's Radio Liberacion gave out the following exhortation: "The Committee for Student Mobilization to End the War in Viet Nam has ordered a student strike in the United States . . . demonstrations are the culmination of months of preparation and negotiation among the many left-wing and liberal groups that sponsor those demonstrations."

The following day, Students for a Democratic Society seized and held Hamilton Hall at Columbia University in New York City. This was unsurprising since Mark Rudd, head of SDS, had completed a three-week visit to Cuba where he attended meetings of the very "Committee for Student Mobilization to End the War in Viet Nam" that called for the assault on April 22.

The ally of the SDS at Columbia was the Student Afro-American Society. The name of this group was suggested during the plenary session of Havana's Tricontinental Organization conference in January 1966. Stokely Carmichael and members of his Black United Front appeared at the Columbia University demonstrations, where Carmichael told the Afro-Americans to kick the SDS out of Hamilton Hall and take over. The SDS members left before they were forced out and seized their own base of operations, the administrative offices of University President Grayson Kirk in Low Library.

Carmichael, of course, attended the Latin American Solidarity Organization's (OLAS) conference in Havana last August where he vowed to explode "50 Viet Nams inside and 50 outside" the United States. He has signed a "protocol" of cooperation with the Marxist-Leninist Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement (PMI) and its student arm, the FUPI.

Demands made by Columbia University rioters followed the Communist mold, including the legend: "Year of the Heroic Guerrilla" after his guerrilla chieftain "Che" Guevara, who ran a miserable campaign in Bolivia and was killed last October 8 at Vallegrande. Other campus slogans read: "Lenin won, Fidel won and we will win." "We will win" is a translation of Castro's permanent slogan, "*Venceremos!*"

Paris negotiator Averell Harriman and Vice President Humphrey could learn a good deal about Hanoi and its Viet Cong puppets by studying the enemy much closer to home—in fact, *at* home. The U.S. Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, often held up by economic determinists as *the* shining example of how economic programs can undercut communism, is under severe attack by Carmichael's ally, the Pro-Independence Movement. In just two days, April 3 and 4, the PMI and its "Viet Cong," the Armed Commandos of Liberation, the CAL, destroyed over $2 million worth of buildings and merchandise and the island government announced that from January to April 376 sugar cane fields and *fincas* had been burned by terrorists.

Failure to receive adequate police protection (like their counterparts in the United States) prompted Puerto Rico's business community to offer rewards for the arrest and conviction of terrorists. As reported in the May 2 *Diario las Americas*, enormous amounts are being offered—ranging from $100,000 to a half-million dollars—and may be taken as a measure of the private concern over Viet Cong-type assaults on U.S. soil. This concern is easily understood since, in less than four months' time, terrorists destroyed more than $10 million in property throughout the island.

Indeed, on April 25, Havana's Radio Liberacion stated bluntly that the PMI is Puerto Rico's National Liberation

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Mr. Bethel is executive director of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba and editor of the authoritative "Latin America Report." A member of the American Embassy staff in Havana when Fidel Castro seized control, he has kept up his many contacts in the Latin American diplomatic corps and has personally interviewed hundreds of Cuban refugees.

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Among those present during the recent Columbia University disorders were none other than Stokely Carmichael (left) and H. Rap Brown.

Front, announcing: "Juan Mari Bras, secretary general of the PMI, announced today his support for the Armed Commandos of Liberation, CAL. Mari Bras said that the CAL *'now belongs to the national liberation movement of Latin America*" (emphasis added).

This announcement was followed by another from Havana on April 30, which said that Norman Pietri (Communist Puerto Rican delegate to Havana's Tricontinental Organization) has now assumed the post of "Secretary of Foreign Relations" of the PMI. Both Pietri and Mari Bras, San Juan's *El Mundo* quoted them as saying, have declared their "allegiance to Marxism-Leninism." Furthermore, the PMI maintains in Havana what it calls a "Free Puerto Rico Embassy" and its members move back and forth to it with all the ease of commuters.

More dangerous still, a weak government in Puerto Rico has sought to play down the danger that it faces, perhaps for fear of what the stories might do to the island's mammoth tourist industry (two luxury hotels have been bombed) and to the climate of investment from outside scources. Thus, Gov. Roberto Sanchez Vilella's administration has been inclined to back down in the face of determined assaults by the Havana-supported PMI, FUPI, and the Armed Commandos of Liberation and to attempt to explain away their militancy in sociological terms—"We haven't moved fast enough for our poor. . .," etc.

The dangers facing Puerto Rico today are even greater in other countries in Latin America where leftists and Communists are pushing governments to the wall.

Chile is a striking example of a country in which democratic government is caught between the hammer of violence and the anvil of political pressure. Even before President Eduardo Frei and his Christian Democrats came to power they had adopted a political stance which has since led them to accept many programs which are virtually indistinguishable from those espoused by the Communists.

The political philosophy of the CD was assessed just before the 1964 election by the managing editor of Santiago's Socialist daily (Chile's Socialists are openly identified with Fidel Castro and more militant than the Communists). Writing in *Las Noticias de Ultima Hora*, the editor remarked: "Electorally, the Marxists may suffer a defeat [in the elections], but politically they have already scored a victory."

He meant by this that the Christian Democrats, in making their bid for power, had adopted a program that differed little from the Marxists. Indeed, during the presidential campaign, CD candidate Eduardo Frei agreed with his Socialist opponent Salvador Allende that "The Alliance for Progress is inoperable," and did so in the face of the knowledge that Chile was receiving more aid from us than any other country in Latin America.

Private property has few safeguards today because, as Christian Democrat Justice Minister Pedro Rodriguez put it, "The right of private property must be subordinated to the social interests of the community." Responding to pressures for the Communist-Socialist alliance (FRAP) and the militants within the Christian Democrats, President Frei worked out an agrarian reform law that is little different from Communist Cuba's.

Property was confiscated from large landholders, divided into parcels of land called *assentamientos* and 70,000 settlers have been placed upon them. But those settlers are required to sell their crops to the government Agrarian Reform Corporation and are billed for financial assistance received at the end of each crop year.

Despite claims made during the 1964 presidential campaign that land would be given to the peasants, the fact is that Chile's much-propagandized land reform gave land to no one. And though a recent study put out by the U.N.'s Food and Agricultural Organization is rich in facts and figures, it avoids commenting on the economic and financial repercussions of Chile's "land reform" and confines itself largely to a social survey of the plan.

But the facts cannot be hidden. Chile, with 25 per cent more arable land per capita than the United States, imported $200 million in foodstuffs when in fact agricultural commodities should be a major item of export. Furthermore, the government maintains that settlers, who own no land of their own, are property owners and employers of labor and therefore not entitled to share in the state's social security coverage. Thus, it is little wonder that Frei's agrarian policies have been such a spectacular failure.

In the face of mounting attacks from radicals in his own party and the Communist-Socialist coalition, President Frei keeps moving further to the left. One project under way is a frankly authoritarian attempt to force the Chileans to save money and contribute to what Frei calls "a popular economy." Private enterprises are forced by this plan to save 66 per cent of their annual profits, thus stifling what business initiative might remain after the steady nationalization of industry.

Chile is moving dangerously to the left in its foreign policy, as well. The Christian Democratic Youth is now allied with the Czechoslovak Youth Union, and recently the two groups joined the Communist youth of FRAP in demanding the "total eradication of Yankee influence from Latin America," and the opening of diplomatic relations with Cuba and North Viet Nam. The militant wing of the Christian Democrats announced its "ideological solidarity" with Havana's Latin American Solidarity Organization (OLAS), and with North Viet Nam.

And to the profound dismay of Chile's friends and neighbors, President Frei responded by permitting the subversive OLAS to open an office in Santiago. Socialist chief Sen. Salvador Allende quickly accepted a position in it, thus giving OLAS quasi-legal status.

On February 27 President Frei permitted five members of "Che" Guevara's defeated guerrilla expeditionary force to enter Chile from Bolivia. Chile refused Bolivia's request to extradite them for trial, and, in fact, arranged for the Cuban ambassador to France to journey to Chile, with whom Cuba has neither diplomatic nor trade relations, and return the guerrillas to Havana.

Bolivia's indignation boiled over at the Organization of American States where its representative, Raul Diaz Medina, truthfully pointed out that Chile's actions constituted a serious breach in the Inter-American system of defense. Other OAS members fear that by permitting the installation of an OLAS office in Santiago and establishing a precedent in the case of the Cubans, Chile has become a sanctuary for Communist subversives.

Behind all of these political pressures and intrigue looms the hammer of violence.

The steady weakening of resolve by the Christian Democrats caused Socialist Sen. Carlos Altamirano to exult: "The conditions for guerrilla warfare, though they may not be as good as in other nations, are now present in Chile." The truth of this comment was underscored when Emilio Oelckers, general director of investigations, disclosed that police had located a Communist training center for terrorists on the outskirts of the city of Concepcion. He revealed that university students, all members of the pro-Castro Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR), had been receiving training, and said that the purpose was to unleash what amounts to Viet Cong-style attacks within Chile's cities.

Havana's Radio Tricontinental issued a clear warning on May 20, extending the Viet Nam parallel to this hemisphere and into the bowels of our own country: "The Vietnamese struggle is, for the revolutionaries of Latin America, a chapter in their own future history. . . . To this revolutionary situation we can add the revolutionary movement of the U.S. black people who, under the rallying cry of 'Black Power,' are now shaking the structure of the United States by armed violence."

Fully warned, it remains to be seen whether our negotiators in Paris and our politicians in Washington will realize the international repercussions which attend their labor.

If we falter in our resolve to resist the Viet Cong and the NLF of Viet Nam, we can be certain that other "Viet Nams" will erupt in full force in the towering Andes and jungle heartland of Latin America. This could well make the bloody conflict in the Far East seem like tame stuff indeed.

The Myths of Progressive Taxation

Does Soak-the-Rich Help the Poor?

By HENRY HAZLITT

Everywhere we turn today we find the welfare state, promising guaranteed jobs, guaranteed incomes, the guaranteed life, security from cradle to grave and the quick if not overnight elimination of poverty. And the principal way in which it undertakes to achieve these goals is to seize from those who have and give to those who have not.

The main instrument it uses for this purpose is the graduated income tax, which has been in effect in the United States since 1913. In the beginning it seemed innocent enough. The top rate was only 7%. A few ultra-conservatives murmured the fear that once the principle was introduced, the top rate might be pushed up to 20%, but these misgivings were laughed out of court. In 1925 the top rate had gone to 25%; in 1935 to 63%; in 1940 to 81%; in 1945 to 94%. In the tax cut of 1964 the top rate was reduced to 70%. If the new surcharge is enacted, it will be up again to 77%.

But in today's world these confiscatory rates are not exceptional. The First National City Bank of New York last month compiled a table comparing the highest marginal income tax rates in 15 countries. The rates (after rounding off fractions) are:

Italy 95%, United Kingdom 91, Canada 80, France 76, Japan 75, Netherlands 71, United States 70, Australia 68, Belgium 66, Sweden 65, Austria 63, West Germany 55, Denmark 53, Norway 50 and Switzerland 8.

It would be misleading to assume that these top-rate figures necessarily reflect the over-all comparative tax levels in these countries. Italy's 95% rate applies only to incomes above $800,000, whereas Norway's 50% rate applies to all incomes above $13,000. Though Sweden's top income tax rate is in the lower half of the list, Sweden imposes the heaviest comparative tax load in the world.

What the comparisons do show graphically is how almost universal the soak-the-rich tax philosophy has now become. This does not mean that it has proved either its value or its necessity, or that it has helped the poor. The higher rates in the "progressive" income tax, on the contrary, undermine incentives and reduce production and capital accumulation.

Nor are progressive rates of income taxation necessary to raise great revenues. A simple calculation, based on the Treasury Department's own figures, shows that, with the same existing exemptions and deductions, a flat rate of 19.5% would raise all the revenue now raised from the scale of rates ranging from 14 to 70%. If all the rates now above 50% were reduced to that level, then (on the basis of 1965 income tax returns) a maximum of $347 million would be lost. This is not enough to run the government, at present spending rates, for a single day. If all incomes over $100,000 were taxed at a rate of 100%, the maximum revenue gain would be $200 million.

For 1965, 70% of the total income tax was paid by people with adjusted gross incomes under $20,000, for the simple reason that these people constituted 97.5% of all income taxpayers, and that they collectively reported more than 80% of the country's taxable income.

Yet perhaps the most serious evil of the progressive income tax is that it produces the illusion in the overwhelming majority of taxpayers that the "rich"—meaning the fellows in the brackets above them—are really paying for most of the benefits that the majority get from the government. This illusion is probably shared even by single taxpayers with taxable incomes just above $7,000, who are in fact paying more than the 19.5% average rate that is yielding the present revenue. This illusion leads them to accept complacently a burden of government expenditure and taxation that they would not otherwise tolerate.

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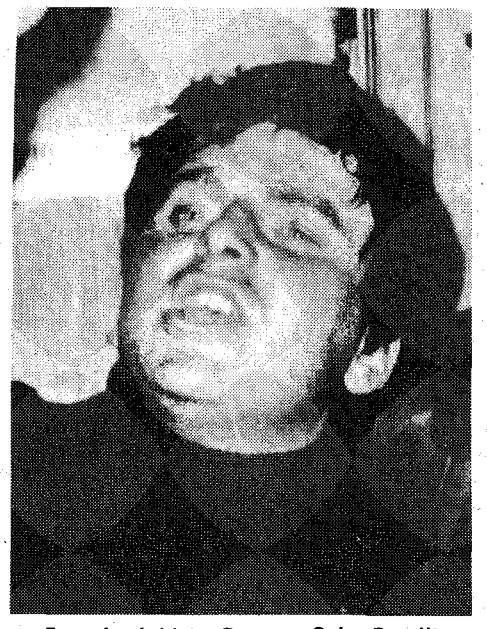
Let's Not Import Trouble

Rep. Bob Wilson is leading fight to keep 'Red Rudi' Dutschke out of U.S.

By ALICE WIDENER

We have enough troubles in our nation and certainly don't need to import more in the form of a 28-year-old German "student" named Rudi Dutschke, known throughout Europe as "Red" Rudi. He and his fellow radical "Red Danny" Cohn-Bendit and their intellectual mentor, Prof. Herbert Marcuse of the University of California at San Diego, have caused enough upheavals in France and West Berlin. But evidently they believe their radicalism should become still more international in scope. So Prof. Marcuse is trying to bring "Red Rudi" to the San Diego campus in order that the latter



French leftist Danny Cohn-Bendit (above), a friend of German firebrand Rudi Dutschke, calls himself a disciple of Prof. Marcuse.

can continue his "studies" with the former.

Rep. Bob Wilson of California is leading a fight to keep "Red Rudi" out of our country. All those citizens who believe he is right should immediately let their congressional representatives in Washington, D.C., know he has strong support in this matter.

Why? Here is the record:

Prof. Herbert Marcuse is a 70-year-old naturalized American of German origin who, in September 1966, prepared a paper to be read at the Second Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars in New York City. At that time Prof. Marcuse was attending a Communist meeting in Prague. In his paper for the Socialist Scholars, he proclaimed "the Marxian idea of socialism is not radical enough," and he urged, "We must develop the moral-sexual rebellion of the youth."

In the current issue of *U.S.A.* magazine, Dumitru Danielopol, columnist for Copley Newspapers, reports on his stay in Paris in May during the most acute stage of the student rebellion there. "By strange coincidence," writes Danielopol, "Prof. Marcuse was in Paris attending a UNESCO symposium on [Karl] Marx. He promptly entered into consultation with the North Vietnamese delegation at the Hotel Lutetia. From there he proceeded to Berlin to visit his disciple, Rudi Dutschke. . . ."

By another not so strange coincidence, Prof. Marcuse wants to import his radical disciple into the heart of the University of California campus. As if UC didn't already have enough troubles and our country, too. Just about the last thing we need is another rabble rouser in our midst, especially one whose mentor teaches and preaches the moral-sexual rebellion of youth.

Mr. Danielopol also reports that "Red Danny" Cohn-Bendit of the violent March 22 Movement that started the French crisis with a rebellion at the University of Nanterre identifies himself as a disciple of Prof. Herbert Marcuse, who is author of a book *One Dimensional Man*. It was reviewed in the New York *Herald Tribune*, April 26, 1964, by Ernest van den Haag, who said about Marcuse, "The idiosyncracies of his expression tend charitably to obscure the commonplace nature of his thoughts—but not enough; the cliches of this one-dimensional, repetitious, monotonous and endless whine about the state of the world, and particularly of the U.S., are too familiar not to be recognized. . . . To the current cliches of the mass media he opposes the cliches of the '30s, adding to the economic metaphysics of Marx a pseudo-psychoanalytic terminology of his own invention."

Prof. Marcuse is very active here at home. He is a member of the national council of the National Conference for New Politics which held a conference in Chicago last Labor Day that hit nationwide headlines because of its affiliation with notorious members of the Communist Party, U.S.A. and with extremist "Black Power" militants.

In fighting to keep "Red Rudi" Dutschke out of the United States, Rep. Bob Wilson of California is doing a very wise thing. He needs our help. Let's give it to him.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

□□□

Spock, Coffin Verdict

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

The conviction of Dr. Benjamin Spock, Yale University Chaplain William S. Coffin and two others of conspiracy to counsel young men to avoid the draft is an obvious victory of right over wrong.

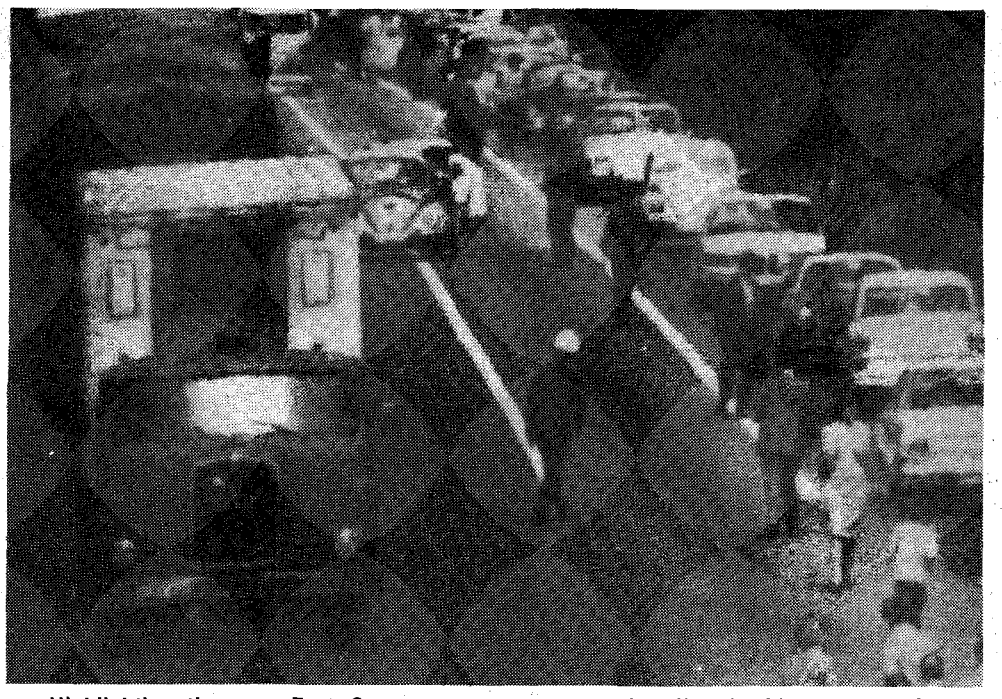
This was not a case, as defense lawyers contended, of freedom to dissent over the war in Viet Nam. The four defendants were charged with planning to incite young men to escape military conscription. They were tried for violating a law of the United States, a freedom which no American has or should have.

Dr. Spock, once known more for his baby books than his childish antics, which included lying down in front of an induction center entrance, had done everything possible to induce young men to refuse service in the armed forces. It does not matter how sincerely he may have believed in his actions; what does matter is that he was trying to undermine the nation's Selective Service System.

The same holds true for Chaplain Coffin, who came to St. Louis earlier this year to sponsor a "manifesto" urging young men to avoid military service, even calling on those serving overseas to refuse to fight.

Dr. Spock, Chaplain Coffin and the others probably will appeal their convictions.

We can only hope the appeals court will continue to serve justice by upholding the verdict of the lower court. This would show the Spocks and the Coffins everywhere that the right to protest does not carry with it the right to violate any law of the United States with impunity.



Highlighting the new East German pressure upon the West is this scene at the Helmstedt crossing point from West to East Germany where the Red police again harass travellers.

East Germany's New Trade Bars Point to More U.S. Humiliation

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Whatever the outcome, East Germany's current attempt to impose taxes and other restrictions upon movement of people and goods between West Germany and West Berlin reveals the hollowness of current American and West German attempts to "relax tensions" with, and "build bridges" to, the Soviet Union.

For what it amounts to is nothing less than a Soviet-East German plan to impoverish West Berlin to the point where they can take it over.

The position of West Berlin has always been difficult and particularly so since President Kennedy permitted the erection of the Berlin Wall.

West Berliners are industrious, competent, devoted to culture and fiercely anti-Communist. But they manage to thrive only thanks to a heavy subsidy from West Germany, which persuaded manufacturers and even foreign businesses to live and prosper in that city. Since the unopposed erection of the Wall, to be sure, many disheartened young West Berliners have moved West. But the number is slight and the city's population has remained almost stable at around 2.2 million. Still, West Berliners are steadily growing older.

But although, thanks to the zeal of all Germans, Communist East Germany has achieved the highest living standard in all the Communist bloc, only a small percentage of the people are convinced Communists. And even they bitterly resent restrictions on information and on travel which the Ulbricht government feels obliged to maintain if its subjects are to escape "capitalist contamination" from West Berlin.

Recent events in Czechoslovakia have, moreover, put the fear of God into Ulbricht. For his safety depends not upon his own police but upon the presence of some 25-odd Soviet army divisions in East Germany.

Any Russian shooting of rioting East German students and workmen would destroy the phony picture of "maturing communism" which Moscow has spread abroad to receive from Western countries political cooperation and invaluable industrial products which it still has difficulty in manufacturing for itself.

This is why, when Czechoslovakia exploded, Ulbricht hurried to consult his masters in Moscow and then organized the Dresden Conference at which Russia calmed down satellite governments all too eager to tighten trade and cultural relations with West Germany.

East Germany's current attempt to establish complete control on overland movement between West Germany and West Berlin is another attempt to bolster its wobbling prestige.

Success or failure depends primarily upon the three wartime allies which still formally control West Berlin, and chiefly upon the United States. Neither shaky Britain nor strife-torn France is in a position to uphold the rights of the West Germans.

But will America act? Many Germans are skeptical in spite of Under Secretary of State Walt Rostow's bold announcement that the new restrictions "cannot be tolerated." West Berliners note that they informed Americans of Ulbricht's coming offensive last December. In March, when I was in Berlin, East Berlin police were interfering with the travel of those West Germans whom they labelled "National Democrats."

Still Washington did nothing. A high American official called the threat "largely a matter between East and West Germans." Yet aside from some commercial pressure there is little West Germany can do about the restrictions. Only America could induce the Soviet Union to call off its East German puppets—or else.

Or else, what? Well, in reprisal against restrictions on West Berlin-West Germany traffic, the United States might, say, induce NATO ally Turkey to close the Dardanelles to Soviet shipping, thus isolating the Soviet Mediterranean fleet. Or it might help allies Denmark and Norway to close the Skagerrak leading out of the Baltic into the North Sea, thus paralyzing Soviet commerce.

Or if these measures seem too harsh, Washington might suspend any further moves toward imposing upon its allies the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of which Germany, in Russian eyes, is to be the chief victim.

LBJ might do any of these things. But in view of his current passion for cooperation with Kosygin and Brezhnev, will he?

Personally, I have my doubts.

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Delegate Fight in Washington State

A Cloud Over the Miami Beach Convention?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

In 1952 it was a fight over the seating of the Texas delegates that led, eventually, to the unforeseen victory of Ike Eisenhower over Robert Taft in the Republican presidential convention. This year another delegate fight may be shaping up to plague the Republicans. If it comes, it will be due to the peculiar politics of the state of Washington, where, for the first time in the history of the nation, a radically subjective formula for choosing delegates to a presidential nominating convention has been put into effect against the obvious wishes of a big majority of the local party members.

The governor of Washington happens to be an attractive young liberal, Dan Evans, who has been chosen to keynote the Republican Miami Beach convention. Evans was originally a Nelson Rockefeller man, though he now leans toward Dick Nixon. Rumors as plentiful as the blackberries that grow in the Washington state lumber slash have it that Nixon has dangled a promise of the vice presidency before Dan Evans' eyes. But there could always be a slip if Nixon suddenly showed evidence of weakness. Presumably it wouldn't take a great wrench of the spirit to send Dan Evans back to his original love.

This is why the Washington state quarrel over convention delegates could be important. To keep control of things, the Washington State Republican chairman, Montgomery—or Gummy—Johnson, who is Dan Evans' man, has imposed on his party a most novel formula for choosing the delegates to the upcoming Republican state nominating convention.

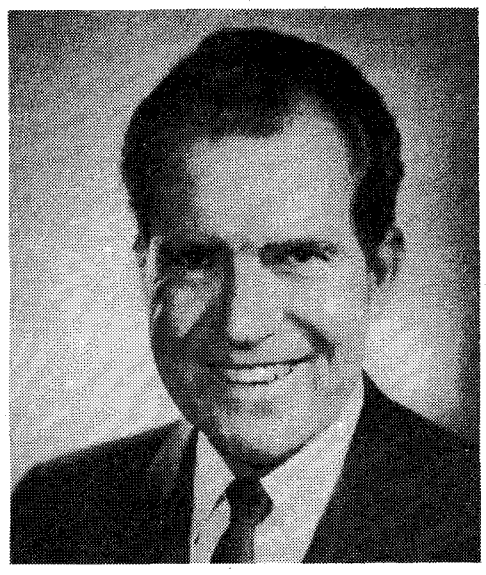
The new formula decrees that county delegates to the convention shall be selected according to a mixture of quantitative and qualitative factors. Under the standard criterion that is observed in most localities, convention delegates would be chosen on a numerically representative, or one man, one vote, basis. But in the state of Washington this year, delegates are based on contributions to the "general condition of the county."

The "general condition" takes into account four things. One is the past voting record of the people involved. A second is the financial contribution made to the State Committee. A third is the past and present record of "cooperation with the State Committee," and a fourth implies "willingness to cooperate with the governor."

These last two items, of course, involve a subjective judgment, and it is "Gummy" Johnson, the state chairman, who renders the judgment. Naturally, the peculiar formula that Johnson has devised has been challenged in the courts.

Because of local objections to the Johnson formula, the counties of Pierce (the Tacoma area) and Snohomish (the Everett area) may be sending two sets of delegates to the 21st of June convention which will be nominating the state delegation that will go to Miami Beach in August. Pierce happens to be the strongest Nixon county in the state, and Snohomish is also on the conservative-to-moderate side.

There is no logical reason why the will of the majority in these two counties should be challenged at the nominating convention, but the prospects are that the Johnson forces, although they pay lip service at least to the Nixon candidacy, will challenge it.



Although former Vice President Richard Nixon seems to be favored by rank-and-file Washingtonians, liberal Gov. Dan Evans is keeping his options open.

If things go wrong at the Washington state nominating convention, some two or more rump delegations claiming legality will almost certainly turn up at Miami Beach. This would not change things nationally if Nixon is still as firmly in the driver's seat as he seems to be at the moment. But if Nixon can't win on an early ballot, the exact composition of the Washington state delegation could be an important item. The first choice in Pierce and Snohomish counties, which are in the populous part of the state, is Nixon; the second choice is Reagan. But if Dan Evans and Gummy Johnson want to revert to Rockefeller, what then? It is because reversion is always a possibility that a quarrel over the Washington state delegates could turn out to have transcendent importance.

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S 3218: Another Way To Waste Taxpayer Money

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Another $2-billion, U.S. taxpayers' foreign handout is quietly on its way—unless brought to public view.

Down goes our gold again—down and out. We're told not to travel abroad—keep our dollars home. Yet foreign-bound dollars still pour out of the Treasury on a "the world loves me—the world loves me not" basis, as if Washington were trying to see which petal is at the bottom of the barrel. And the process has literally 14 disguises, with No. 15 coming up.

There's a sneaker in a bill somehow already approved by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee that ignores the gold crisis entirely and the taxpayers' pocketbooks as well. It is innocuous-sounding S 3218.

Since 1945 the Export-Import Bank has supported world trade by lending the U.S. taxpayers' money abroad and guaranteeing or insuring commercial loans to finance international commerce.

Some months before the British pound was devalued last fall, and hardly known to the public, the Administration asked Congress for a big boost in the bank's lending limit. The loan ceiling was lifted from $9 billion to $13.5 billion. In that quiet move, however, the repayment terms were stated to remain unchanged.

But now comes the reload—the second step.

Quietly—oh, so quietly—little-known S 3218 would allow the Export-Import Bank to make loans and commitments abroad up to $2 billion that "do not meet the test of reasonable assurance of repayment."

Those are the words, folks, and if we suffering taxpayers don't know what they mean we know nothing.

Even though you'd think the test of "reasonable assurance of repayment" is about as far as any terms could stretch for what is somehow called "a loan," quiet little S 3218 sinks even that without a trace.

The taxpayers, of course, would pay the bill for any losses. But that fact, too, is obscured. The bill states that "the bank" itself would pay all losses up to $100 million. Then, adding to the double-talk, it goes on to provide that the U.S. Treasury would absorb whatever is needed over $100 million "without fiscal year limitations."

It is obvious that the public is not intended to understand this. The simple fact is that both the bank and the Treasury get their funds from the taxpayers. Behind that $2-billion giveaway abroad, hey, that's our money.

The bill's disguise does not stop even there. Believe it or not, the Washington Robin Hoods of the Red Ink present S 3218 as an attack on our balance-of-payments problem! Yet the essence of that problem is that we send fewer dollars abroad and bring more into the United States.

Our foreign giveaways have exceeded $130 billion. And there is a bottom to the barrel—regardless of disguise. In fact, we are officially told, and retold, that our country is now in a financial bind.

There is a limit to the number of failures that America can absorb. In foreign aid our duty is to be useful not according to our desires but according to our powers. The adult and vibrant economy of this country cannot carry the load everywhere being piled upon it at our taxpayers' expense if also we are to be held responsible for the prosperity in countless nations just learning to crawl.

In August 1966, on the fifth anniversary of the Alliance for Progress, President Johnson promised American goals in Latin America of 140 million new jobs, a million new homes, and countless new classrooms, with no desirable way to achieve these even though our taxpayers have been putting about $1 billion a year down there.

These are the kind of promises that give birth to quiet little S 3218 and other back-door handouts that complicate our crisis even beyond anything that appears on the surface. In fact, Rep. Otto Passman (D.-La.) finds that the current foreign aid declared to be $3 billion is actually closer to $9 billion, with nearly $6 billion buried in 14 other separate appropriations.

The only way to stop these disguised handouts is to stop them. Quiet S 3218 should be stopped, here and now, on the floor of the U.S. Senate.

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By M. Stanton Evans
(Editor, Indianapolis *News*)

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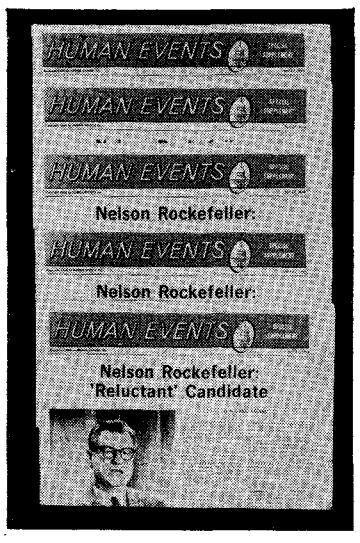

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Three Basic Objectives Sought

LBJ Has Begun Secret Correspondence with Kosygin

By PAUL SCOTT

President Johnson has opened up a new diplomatic exchange of letters with Premier Aleksei Kosygin of the Soviet Union.

Although the content of the messages is being closely held within the White House inner circle, it can be reliably reported that the President is seeking three objectives:

- First is to urge the Soviet leader to use his influence over Hanoi to keep the stalemated Paris talks on Viet Nam from breaking down completely.

- A second objective is for U.S.-Soviet talks on arms limitations, including the development of new military missiles and satellite systems and the shipment of weapons to the explosive Middle East.

- The third objective is to obtain a long-sought invitation to visit Russia before his term expires next January 20. This is one of the President's priority projects.

While Premier Kosygin has neither accepted nor rejected the President's proposals, the Soviet leader has indicated in his response that a complete halt of U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam is needed before he'll discuss the other issues.

One of the chief authors of the President's recent messages to Kosygin is Llewellyn Thompson Jr., the current U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union. The prime mover of President Johnson's original meeting with Premier Kosygin last summer at Glassboro, N.J., Ambassador Thompson has been pushing for a new meeting between the two leaders as the means to break the Paris deadlock on Viet Nam.

Since returning to Moscow on April 17, Thompson has presented U.S. proposals to Soviet officials, including one Viet Nam peace offer not yet made public, before Ambassador W. Averell Harriman, the chief U.S. negotiator, presented them in Paris.

As one high-level Administration official puts it: "The public negotiations on Viet Nam are being held in Paris for the record. The significant secret talks are being conducted in Moscow."

At the time he announced the March 31 limitation on U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam and took himself out of the 1968 presidential race, the President offered to have both Harriman and Thompson negotiate a peace settlement with Hanoi.

Although it isn't generally known, Thompson arranged the Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting at Vienna in June 1961 which led to the 1962 Geneva agreement on Laos which the Communists signed but never honored.

Originally, President Johnson had planned to send Thompson to Paris with Harriman, but dropped the idea after several members of Congress objected to his views on Viet Nam and to his 1962 proposal of a Kennedy-Khrushchev summit on the Cuban missile crisis. Cyrus R. Vance, former deputy secretary of defense and now one of the President's key foreign policy trouble-shooters, was sent instead.

Before returning to Moscow, Thompson also succeeded in soft pedaling in the President's letters to Kosygin any mention of the increased Soviet military help to North Viet Nam and its role in prolonging the war.

A U.S. intelligence estimate lists Russian military aid to Hanoi during the past year "at between $2 to $5 billion." If this massive military aid were cut off, according to the estimate, Hanoi would be unable to continue the war and would be forced to withdraw most of its 100,000-man force from South Viet Nam within three months.

In their talks with Secretary of State Rusk, the Russians have made it clear Moscow has no intention of trying to pressure Hanoi or to cut down on arms shipments to North Viet Nam. If anything, U.S. intelligence reports show the Russians have increased their military help during the past 12 months.

Reconnaissance photographs and other intelligence reveals that 50 Soviet bloc ships arrived at North Vietnamese ports during May—or 11 more than during April. Haiphong, the main North Vietnamese port, is operating at maximum capacity.

Despite the increased arms shipments and the Soviet rebukes, President Johnson has continued to request Moscow's help to end the war in Viet Nam. Over objections of his military advisers the President is following a policy that keeping U.S.-Soviet communication channels open is more important than stopping the flood of Russian arms to North Viet Nam.

The latest Johnson letter to Kosygin followed Moscow's announcement of ratificcation of the Soviet-American consular convention, and the exchange of notes clearing the way for direct air service between New York and Moscow.

For reasons still unexplained, the Russians in their private talks with State Department officials are pushing to open a consulate in Chicago by mid-August—or just before the Democrats gather there for their national convention.

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Herblock's Hatchet Swings Again

By SEN. PAUL FANNIN (R.-Ariz.)

It should be called to the attention of the Senate that the master of the poison pen, Herbert L. Block, of the Washington *Post*, keeps inventing new ways to slander the character of honest men. He cares not where his hatchet falls, so long as it seems to serve the end he seeks. He stoops to practically any means, fair or not, seeking to crush opposition to his viewpoint.

The latest example of Herblock's handiwork appeared in the Washington *Post* on the same day that headlines blazoned the death of our friend and colleague, Robert F. Kennedy.

The cartoon that appeared in the first editions depicits a fat, bald man holding a huge pistol with "gun lobby" plastered across his vest. It carries a poster with the words of Sen. Kennedy quoted. . . .

And another list headed:

"Vote to kill Sen. Ted Kennedy's Proposal to Ban Interstate Mail Order Sales of All Guns, May 16, 1968."

Under that title the first-edition cartoon lists senators in two columns alphabetically. . . .

This particular edition is the mail edition and is listed by the Audit Bureau of Circulation as approximately 16,000 papers being primarily the "mail" edition going out across the nation.

The final edition carries the same cartoon except that the list of senators has now been broken down by party and suddenly another 25 Democratic senators appear on the list.

Now, what are the implications of this?

First of all, running next to a lead editorial entitled "The Shooting of Senator Kennedy," as it does, the cartoon is at the very least in bad taste.

Second, heading the list of senators with the words "Vote to Kill" is so unjust and inflammatory as to be unbelievable.

Third, what possible reason can prompt a paper to run a complete list of Republican senators in one edition and omit the complete list that includes another 25 Democratic senators until it was apparently inserted in the final edition of 59,000 distributed mostly on newsstands and in the street?

Some horrible questions arise from this action:

Does Mr. Block intend to convey the idea across the nation that more Republicans voted to kill Sen. Kennedy than Democrats? I almost choke on the very words, but the implication is clearly resident in the manner in which this affair has been handled.

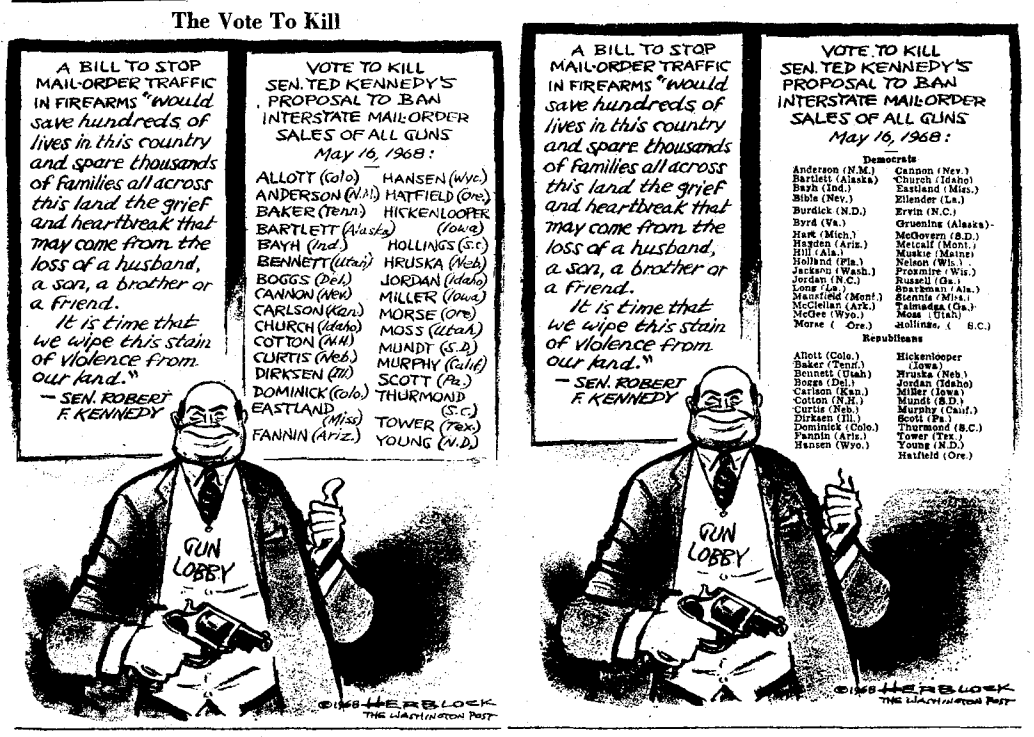
Does Mr. Block intend to convey that all senators who voted down Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's amendment voted to kill Sen. Kennedy? That is too horrible to imagine. This list contains the names of Democratic senators who had been closely associated with Sen. Robert F. Kennedy over the years and were close personal friends. Such an idea is absolutely abhorrent and repulsive.

I cannot find words to express my dismay and disgust at such irresponsibility displayed on the editorial pages of one of our supposedly leading papers. This issue of the *Post* contains, I would guess from information given me by the paper, approximately half-a-million papers. How many carried each list I do not know, but this is obviously an act intended to poison the minds of men so as to achieve a long-established goal of the paper.

I do not quarrel with a newspaper having a point of view and expressing it. Espousal of ideas and causes freely in America is basically one of the great strengths of our Republic. But this kind of action puts a blot and stain upon the record of responsible journalism and I cannot see how it could be defended as the legitimate exercise of a free press.

No matter how one may stand on gun control legislation, this irresponsible frothing at the mouth by TV commentators, editorialists and public officials does not contribute to a reasonable solution to whatever problem may exist. This public clamor for gun legislation is a monstrous non sequitur to the events in Los Angeles. To ride this tremendous emotional wave, recklessly tossing off terms like "mail-order murder," is worse than irresponsible, because such actions carry the false implication that if a stronger bill is passed it will put an end to such problems. In fact, no legislative proposal that has yet been put forth would have, of itself, prevented the murder of Robert F. Kennedy.

The Vote To Kill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VOTE TO KILL SEN. TED KENNEDY'S PROPOSAL TO BAN INTERSTATE MAIL-ORDER SALES OF ALL GUNS May 16, 1968:
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ANDERSON (N.M.) HATFIELD (Ore.)
BAKER (Tenn.) HICKENLOOPER (Iowa)
BARTLETT (Alaska)
BAYH (Ind.) HOLLINGS (S.C.)
BENNETT (Utah) HRUSKA (Neb.)
BOGGS (Del.) JORDAN (Idaho)
CANNON (Nev.) MILLER (Iowa)
CARLSON (Kan.) MORSE (Ore.)
CHURCH (Idaho) MOSS (Utah)
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CURTIS (Neb.) MURPHY (Calif.)
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Anderson (N.M.) Cannon (Nev.)
Bartlett (Alaska) Church (Idaho)
Bayh (Ind.) Eastland (Miss.)
Bible (Nev.) Ellender (La.)
Burdick (N.D.) Ervin (N.C.)
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Hayden (Ariz.) Metcalf (Mont.)
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Long (La.) Russell (Ga.)
Mansfield (Mont.) Smathers (Ala.)
McClellan (Ark.) Sparkman (Ala.)
Metcalf (Wyo.) Stennis (Miss.)
Morse (Ore.) Talmadge (Ga.)
Pastore (R.I.) Tydings (Md.)
Republicans
Allott (Colo.) Hickenlooper (Iowa)
Baker (Tenn.) Hruska (Neb.)
Bennett (Utah) Jordan (Idaho)
Boggs (Del.) Miller (Iowa)
Carlson (Kan.) Morton (Ky.)
Cotton (N.H.) Mundt (S.D.)
Curtis (Neb.) Murphy (Calif.)
Dirksen (Ill.) Scott (Pa.)
Dominick (Colo.) Thurmond (S.C.)
Fannin (Ariz.) Tower (Tex.)
Hansen (Wyo.) Young (N.D.)
Hatfield (Ore.)
GUN LOBBY
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Shown above are the Herblock cartoons which appeared in different June 6 editions of the liberal Washington Post and which Sen. Fannin discusses in the article above. The cartoon at left, which appeared in initial editions of the Post, listed primarily the GOP senators who voted against Sen. Edward Kennedy's gun control bill; in the later editions, the modified cartoon at right appeared. Note that the vicious heading over the cartoon, "The Vote to Kill," has been dropped and the names of 25 Democratic senators added to the list. Later Herblock, in a letter to the editor of the Post, refused to apologize for the omissions, noting self-righteously that those listed in the first cartoon did indeed vote against the bill, something that no one had questioned. He still failed, however, to explain why he did not put the full rollcall in the first drawing.

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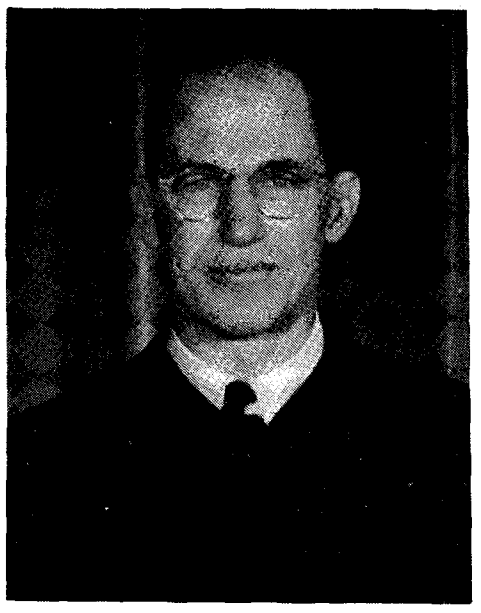

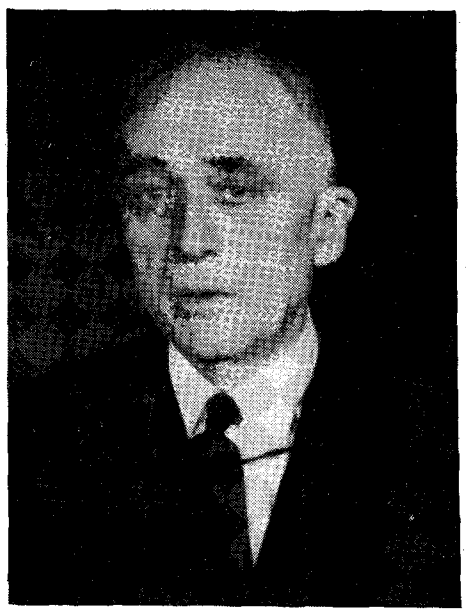

The dissenters in the Supreme Court's 7-to-2 decision were Justices Byron (Whizzer) White, left, and John Marshall Harlan.

'Legislative Intent'

Does 1866 Law Really Support Court's New Housing Decision?

From the Chicago *Tribune*

There has been considerable comment that it is ironic for Congress to have enacted a federal open housing law this spring, only to be told by the Supreme Court on June 17 that discrimination in the sale or rental of housing had been outlawed for 102 years. The court held that under the 13th Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1866 "all racial discrimination, private as well as public, in the sale or rental of property" is prohibited.

The decision, by a vote of 7 to 2, is not likely to be greeted with enthusiasm by Congress, which in April thought it was doing something important when it passed legislation to remove most racial bars in property transactions in three stages by 1970. The law was supposed to govern about 80 per cent of all property. It exempted private sales by homeowners who did not employ a real estate broker and didn't use "white only" advertising. The court's ruling knocks this exemption galley west.

The majority made much of the "legislative history" leading up to the 1866 act—that is, what was said about it in Congress during debate—but the minority, Justice Harlan and White, challenged the majority by saying that, through its usual elastic interpretation, it was reading into the words of congressmen intentions that weren't there.

In 1883, for instance, the Supreme Court held that the 1866 law was to "counteract and furnish redress against state laws and proceedings." In numerous decisions dealing with restrictive covenants, the court held that while private agreements might be entered into, they could not be made binding by judicial enforcement.

Reverting to the debate of 1866, Justices Harlan and White said that the chief sponsor of the legislation, Sen. Lyman Trumbull, repeatedly offered statements which can only be taken as meaning that the bill was aimed at "state action" alone. He said it would have no application in states, Illinois among others, which did not have laws discriminating between persons on account of race or color.

He said that "where there is statute-law of a state discriminating against" Negroes, Congress could confer jurisdiction under the 13th Amendment.

In the House it was explained that the legislation was directed against "discrimination relative to civil rights and immunities made by the states," and that "we may protect a citizen of the United States against a violation of his rights by the law of a single state." Rep. Shellabarger, a proponent of the bill, flatly stated that "the bill does not reach mere private wrongs, but only those done under color of state authority."

In the absence of any evidence during the congressional discussion in 1866 that the legislation was intended to reach possessors of private property who might set their own conditions in disposing of their property, the court seems to have reached its present decision by a process of highly attenuated reasoning.

If there is any instruction in this for a contemporary federal legislature, it is that the legislative intention be made unmistakably clear during discussions and debate, lest the Supreme Court find some breach through which it may ride in pursuit of its inventions through judicial legislation. But even the tightest legislative history, we hasten to concede, would hardly deter the court from reading into law what it thinks ought to be there.

□□□

SAUCE FOR THE GOOSE—"The Senate's deliberative powers were in high gear when it approved a provision that would deny federal National Aeronautics and Space Agency research funds to colleges that refused to permit armed forces recruiters on campus. An extension of the principle also might be promising. Federal funds also could be refused to institutions that reject Defense Department projects and that are havens for insurrections against the Selective Service. It soon would educate some utopian 'intellectuals' to the practicalities of life, among them that it is not always possible to have the best of both worlds."—From the San Diego *Union*

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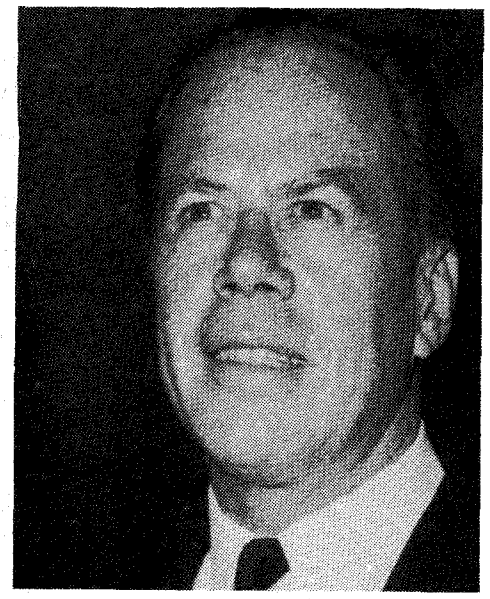
What Beat Kuchel

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Orwell's *1984* is not yet upon us, and man still defies the machine. So CBS's face is now red because, five hours before the California polls closed, it gave Sen. Kennedy victory over McCarthy by 14 percentage points. That should have ended it, but an unruly electorate continued to vote and the final tally narrowed that margin to 4.5 per cent. Maybe LBJ will appoint a commission to find out what happened—and why.

Nor was that the only place the computers went wrong. All the pre-primary polls had Sen. Kuchel defeating the challenge of Max Rafferty. Kuchel had the great advantage of a 16-year incumbency and the additional prestige of being his party's whip.

Further, he had plenty of money behind him—and Rafferty didn't. Indeed, lack of funds forced Max to



Outgoing Sen. Thomas Kuchel may not be too happy about losing the California primary to Max Rafferty, but according to columnist Ryskind he brought his defeat upon himself.

cancel some TV time he had reserved. Too, Kuchel had the support of powerful papers in both the north and south, and the endorsement of prominent union officials and various "minority" leaders.

So sure were columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak of the result that their piece on the eve of the primary, "Decline of the Right," was an obituary for California conservatism. Kuchel would not only kayo Rafferty, "the cut-rate Bill Buckley of the West Coast," but in so doing would decisively end any right-wing power in the state. Forever and ever, amen.

And yet in the end, it was Kuchel who bit the dust. And now at the Wailing Wall, garments are rent as the liberals, led by the sainted New York Times, echo Job's cry: "God hath delivered me to the ungodly, and turned me over into the hands of the wicked."

But, from my point of view, the Lord had nothing to do with it. It was Kuchel himself who brought about his defeat—and it began with his actions in 1964.

Let me go back some years before that for background. The first time I met Barry Goldwater, he had come to California as head of a fund-raising campaign for GOP candidates, and he was loud in his praise of Kuchel, urging he be retained in his senatorial seat.

Nor did his plea fall on deaf ears. A good many fat cats contributed generously to Kuchel as a result, and the skinnier ones enrolled as precinct workers for Tom.

I recall one instance where Kuchel desperately needed extra funds for both a scheduled radio and a TV appearance. He appealed to a lady I know for help and she leaped to the phone to canvass her friends and delivered the necessary money in the nick of time. The air media extend no credit, it seems—you put up the cash or they cancel you and run something else.

In the 1964 primary most of these folk were for Barry. But Kuchel headed the Rockefeller backers—which was his right and did not of itself arouse any backlash. But then came his tactics—which did.

For night after night after night on TV, Kuchel and his delegation accused Barry's supporters—both by innuendo and more direct charges—of being composed almost entirely of Wasps who were bigoted against all minorities.

I need hardly point out the absurdity of labeling Protestants who backed Barry as Waspish supremacists. And I know it stunned Catholics like Henry Salvatori and Pat Frawley, who had given handsomely to Kuchel campaigns, and to many Jews who had done likewise, to learn they had suddenly joined the Klan by rooting for Barry.

It is not quite true that "Sticks and stones may break my bones, but names will never hurt me." Vicious name-calling may leave more lasting scars than either sticks or stones.

During that bitter primary I received 400 letters from precinct workers all over the state who had given up their spare time to stamp envelopes, climb stairs to register voters, and do all the other unglamorous drudgery attendant on that unpaid job in various Kuchel campaigns. And all of them swore they would never again, under any circumstances, lift a finger for an ingrate who had so grossly insulted them, night after night after night.

And on Tuesday, June 4, 1968, all the epithets Kuchel had so lavishly thrown into the air in 1964 finally came home to roost.

It's as simple as that.

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The Tele-Funeral—A Study in Morbidity

By PAUL HARVEY

Newspapers managed to print other news that first week of June, but TV and radio didn't dare to or didn't want to.

News services and newspapers continued to cover all news fronts—legislative, financial, sports, foibles—but the electronic media felt themselves compelled to describe, detail, discuss, debate and repeatedly replay the assassination of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy and the subsequent funeral to the exclusion of all else.

I have tried to imagine myself as one of Sen. Kennedy's vociferously devoted fans. Would I then feel that TV and radio should publicly bathe themselves in their own tears for days and nights on end? Perhaps.

Most of us were intrigued by and ashamed of our own morbid interests; when cameramen had to be begged to remove their hot lights from above his near lifeless body—when TV eyes intruded on the privacy of the bereaved family even during the widow's lonely vigil in St. Patrick's—when the tedious funeral train trip from New York to Washington, requiring more than eight hours and resulting in additional deaths, kept an army of newsmen eulogizing in hoarse whispers.

Now to what lengths can we go to show our respect for men of even greater stature and accomplishment? Two aged Presidents are likely to precede most of us in death. Indeed, public servants of the tenure and stature of J. Edgar Hoover and Sen. Everett Dirksen are altogether deserving of national mourning. Yet you and I know that a day with the flag at half-staff is just about the most our nation will do to mark the inevitable passing of such giants.

If the major networks were seeking to provoke a "national conscience"—making the entire nation feel responsible for the diabolical deed of one gunman—then these important news services were themselves quite out of bounds.

If the unprecedented saturation TV-radio coverage of a senator's death can be attributed in part to the comparative newsness of these media, then perspective may come with maturity.

Yet one remembers that Sen. Joe McCarthy and Gen. Douglas MacArthur and President Herbert Hoover and Helen Keller got no such astronomically expensive and elaborate send-off.

So it must be deduced after two all-out assassination extravaganzas that it is at least possible that Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy were in death the beneficiaries of a "prejudice" which they in life renounced.

Perhaps it was Sen. Ted Kennedy who, at the televised funeral service, said it best: "My brother need not be idealized or enlarged in death beyond what he was in life."

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Lesson for Do-Gooders

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

The following are excerpts from a recent story in the Washington *Evening Star* about an incident at the so-called Resurrection City:

"James H. Clark stood shoulder-deep in the freshly dug trench, sighting down the line of black sewer pipe he had just laid between two rows of Resurrection City's plywood shacks.

"Clark is not a resident of the poor people's encampment. He is a licensed plumber with his own business in Washington.

"He was doing the work free and asked the encampment officials about the possibility of help. No volunteers came. 'These people don't want to work,' he said.

"When the motor of the earthmover idled, transistor radios could be heard inside nearby shelters. From time to time a group of men would gather around the ditch and watch Clark work.

"Once Clark looked directly at a big man who seemed to be a leader and asked him to get some help and begin filling the trench behind them. The man looked surprised. 'Brother, I came down here to get away from shovels,' was the reply."

There was more to this account of how a hard-working Negro plumber came face to face with the residents of this shack town on the banks of the Potomac and found not one single person willing to lift a finger to help himself and others.

And there is an all to obvious lesson here for those "enlightened" do-gooders and bleeding hearts who continually lash themselves and others into a frenzy and bleat endlessly for more and yet more of the dole, the handout, and the free ride at every turn.

Until the evangelic libertines realize that there never was any such thing as a "free" lunch, there will be people who say "Brother, I came down here to get away from shovels."

Foreign Meat Controls

By REP. JAMES BATTIN (R.-Mont.)

Although more than a billion pounds of frozen meat were brought into our country last year, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman took pride in the fact that the United States had never imposed quotas under the Meat Import Law of 1964. The wide-open policies of meat imports cause several problems, not the least of which is the depression on the U.S. cattle market. Besides this, we have meat that is slaughtered and processed under standards that are not as strict as those we require of local producers. Although there is no direct evidence of contaminated meats in the imports, we still have the fact that our producers must put more money into processing meat than their foreign competitors. If rigid standards are required of our producers, how can we justify allowing meat of any lower standards to be brought into our country? Regardless of requirements, agriculture officials have opposed any attempt to require foreign meat processors to label their products. The undisputed fact remains that vast amounts of meat are being brought into our country and are being sold on the meat counters without any identification of where it came from or what standards of cleanliness were used in processing.

Deterrent Philosophy

By SEN. PETER DOMINICK (R.-Colo.)

I think we should examine the realism of our theory of preventing a first strike by the Soviets through a deterrent philosophy.

If we put ourselves in the place of the Soviets and if we take into consideration the fact that they really do have an intent to dominate this world, through one form or another, it would seem to me that our present defense situation is not nearly as strong as the American people would like if they really knew the facts about it. And it seems to me that if the Soviets were looking at it, they would feel our deterrent capability was not as strong as has been portrayed, particularly by Secretary McNamara in some of the speeches he has made in the past.

We do not now have a fractional orbital bomb. We do not now have a capability of intercepting such a bomb. The Russians now have a fractional orbital bomb, and they now have at least a viable anti-ballistic missiles system which has worked on tests and which is now currently deployed.

Under those situations, it would seem to me it is in the interest of our people and our country to try to maintain our deterrent capability by insuring that we would still have the opportunity of at least launching a second strike in the event the militarists gained control of the Soviet Union and made a second strike in order to incapacitate our country and its military defenses.

Giveaways No Cure

By REP. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN (D.-Ga.)

I am as sympathetic as any man in Congress with the poor and the poverty-stricken, but I will never believe that a guaranteed annual wage, which would come out of the pockets of hard-working taxpayers, is the answer to the problem. And if those people camping here in Washington seriously think that Congress is going to pass any such legislation, then they are sadly misreading the thinking and mood of most members of Congress, which pretty well reflects the thinking of the majority of our citizens. I can promise you today that I will be one of the many voting against any such proposal. And I think I can safely say that if they had left it up to most members of Congress, we would never have allowed government property to be used for such a purpose. There is an answer to the problems of the poor, but it does not lie in the area of more giveaways. The only answer, in my opinion, is in well-planned, intelligent programs of job training and retraining. I could vote for such programs in good conscience, because it would mean taking great numbers of people off the welfare rolls and helping them to live productive, taxpaying lives.

'Crime Commission'

By REP. JOHN WYDLER (R.-N.Y.)

I believe that swift, sure justice will deter crime and the criminal and do it in time to protect our homes and lives. Even in the sub-world of crime, the word gets around when crime does not pay. Punishment is inflicted by society not as a form of retribution or revenge, but as a means of protection and no government official should hesitate to employ its use.

It is quite clear that our current methods for crime control are inadequate. In addition, we have put our law enforcement agencies in a position of often excusing themselves for attempting to maintain law and order.

It is time for a change from theory to reality. It is time to get the advice of experts on law enforcement on what can be done and what is needed to turn the tide of crime in America.

I call for a Presidential Commission of Experts on Law Enforcement. This time, the commission should be composed of the law enforcement officers of our nation. The political figures, jurists, elected officials and social scientists have been heard from and their suggestions made known.

J. Edgar Hoover should be the chairman of the new commission and representative police chiefs from the 50 states and localities should make up the membership of the "Hoover Crime Commission."

□□□

THIS WEEK'S QUESTION:—A letter-to-the-editor writer in the Washingthe *Post* asks: "I am pleased to know of [Vice President] Humphrey's belief in 'the American dream.' But can he deal effectively with the American reality?"

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• Two pieces of legislation concerning the upcoming presidential campaign advanced last week. The House and Senate unanimously passed a bill (HR 17325) permitting corporations to **deduct from taxes the cost of advertisements** purchased in the presidential nomination convention costs for both parties. The Senate has passed and sent to the House a bill (S J Res 175) **suspending the "equal time" proviso** of the FCC code, thus paving the way (if the House approves) for a repeat of the Republican-Democratic presidential debates of 1960. It would then be up to the three networks whether or not to let other presidential candidates, such as George Wallace, participate in the debates or have "equal time."

• The House Ways and Means Committee is presently conducting hearings on LBJ's **Trade Expansion Act** (HR 17551), a two-year extension of the President's power to negotiate new international trade agreements. The Administration responded to recent congressional criticism of sharply reduced tariffs on imported goods, and subsequent losses by American producers, by including provisions to adjust the terms of government assistance to industries and workers injured because of U.S. trade policy. Still, some congressmen are expected to urge higher tariffs on such imports as steel and textiles.

• The House Post Office and Civil Service Committee has reported a bill which would bar any person convicted of any crime related to a **riot or civil disorder** from employment by the federal or District of Columbia government for a period of five years after conviction. The bill (HR 17267) defines a "civil disorder" and "riot" as any public disturbance caused by three or more persons in which acts of violence occur. If the individual's conviction is reversed, on the other hand, he would be reinstated in his former position or one of comparable status.

• The Senate has unanimously passed the Administration's bill (S 3068) increasing the budget for the **Food Stamp Program** from $225 million to $245 million in fiscal '69. The program is designed to allow needy, "poverty-level" families to buy food essentials at reduced costs. Meanwhile, the House liberals on the Rules Committee are blocking action on a routine agricultural appropriations bill until the House Agriculture Committee takes action on the food stamp measure.

• By a 67-to-4 vote the Senate passed and sent to the House a multifaceted and expensive **Omnibus Housing Bill** (S 3497) granting every cent of the Administration's $4.95-billion request. The bill's intent is to provide "decent" housing for low-income families through federal assistance in buying, building and renting living space. Among the authorizations in the bill are: (**1**) $40 million for fiscal '71 (these funds may now be spent on projects financed under state or local programs, as well as federal); (**2**) $1.4 billion for urban renewal programs in fiscal '70, to be administered under a new project called "Neighborhood Development Programs"; (**3**) $12 million for model cities planning grants in fiscal '69, plus an additional $1 billion for fiscal 1970; (**4**) $190 million for an urban mass transportation program in fiscal 1970. Although the federal government would certainly lay out a whopping sum for the housing bill's programs, many of these require the mutual participation of local governments and private enterprise.

• The Senate has passed and sent to the President a bill (HR 16911) to amend the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Agreement to create a new monetary unit called **Special Drawing Rights** (SDRs). Sometimes referred to as "paper gold," the SDRs would be issued only to governments and would take the form of deposit entries on the books of the IMF. They would be used only in transactions among governments and central banks and would be backed by the obligations of IMF members to accept them and pay a convertible currency in return.

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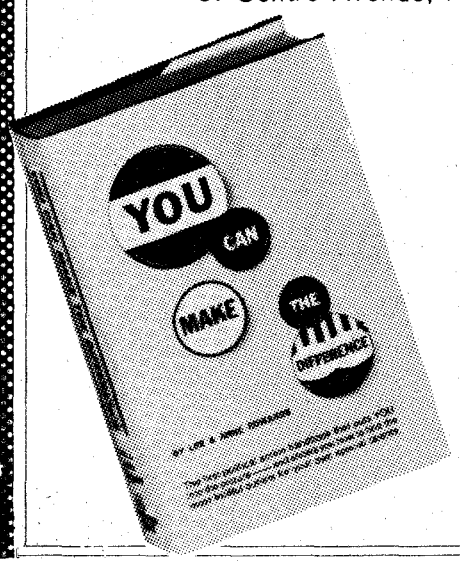

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